EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS FOR JUVENILE CRIME PREVENTION: A CAUSE-BASED MODEL

A JUVENILE CRIME PREVENTION PROJECT REPORT

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The following literature review was undertaken at the request of the Juvenile Crime Prevention Project funded jointly by the British Columbia Ministry of Attorney General and the Solicitor General of Canada. The report is intended to be useful to social service and government planners in designing and implementing youth-work programs, specifically those programs aimed at preventing delinquency.

Chapter 1 provides a general introduction to the report. It argues that a major shortcoming common to previous youth-work programs has been the failure of designers to specify their programs' objectives. Many planners work under the assumption that something about an employment experience will be useful in diverting youths from delinquency. Little attention is paid to the causes of delinquency or to identifying the particular aspect of the youth or the youth's situation the program wishes to modify through employment. The development of a theoretical model which attempts to specify various possible relationships between unemployment and delinquency can be useful to program planners in several areas. First, it can help planners specify their objectives and develop appropriate intervention strategies. Second, the model can be used to conduct research designed to discover the most effective strategies and methods of delinquency prevention or reduction. Third, a theoretical model can assist program planners to identify the appropriate target population for their programs. The model cannot, however, assess whether youth work programs are better at preventing delinquency than any other type of youth program.

Chapter II presents a review of the literature on the relationship between unemployment and juvenile delinquency. The first section reviews

existing evidence on the relationship between the two variables. While the evidence is somewhat inconsistent, the weight of it indicates that unemployment is a causal factor in delinquency causation. However, whether there is a direct or spurious relationship between unemployment and crime is not clear. Factors such as family dislocation and low self-esteem may have more effect on the generation of delinquency with unemployment merely exacerbating the problems. The second section presents a model of the major theoretical perspectives which have attempted to explain the relationship. These perspectives are briefly summarized here.

1. The Economic Model of Crime. This theory assumes that an individual bases the decision between criminal activity and legal means of acquiring wealth on a rational assessment of the relative costs and benefits involved in each option. Unemployment reduces the opportunity for acquiring wealth legally and makes the criminal choice a more attractive one.

2. Self-concept Theories. These theories assume that delinquency often occurs among youths who have not achieved a sense of self-worth or who possess a delinquent self-concept. Employment is believed to be crucial to the development of self-esteem and to acquiring a perception of oneself as a responsible citizen. Unemployment tends to reduce self-esteem and increase feelings of alienation between the self and society.

3. Normlessness Theories. Anomie theories argue that delinquency results when a youth has either not properly internalized the dominant norms of a society or has rejected those norms. Two versions of anomie theory are relevant to the delinquency/unemployment linkage: Merton's theory of anomie and social structure, and Marcia Guttentag's theory of community disorganization. Merton argued that individuals are socialized into pursuing culturally defined goals using socially acceptable means. When

opportunities for acquiring the desired goals through legitimate means are blocked, individuals may reject the legitimate means and turn to criminal activity.

Guttentag argued that during periods of rapid fluctuation in employment rates a large amount of migration occurs. This increased population mobility results in unstable neighbourhoods which are not able to provide their youths with consistent norms. In response, delinquency rates rise.

4. Socialization or Social Learning Theories. Social learning theories assume that participation in the work force teaches youths many of the skills, knowledge, values and attitudes they need to become integrated into adult society. When opportunity for work is reduced, youths may become susceptible to learning the skills, knowledge, values and attitudes of the delinquent subculture.

5. Behavioural Theories. Behavioural theories assume that individuals learn socially acceptable behaviour through positive reinforcement such as the wages offered for work. Some individuals may need a more structured schedule of reinforcement because early conditioning was inadequate to teach them appropriate behaviour.

6. Cognitive Theories. Cognitive theories focus on impairments in cognitive functioning such as learning disabilities. They claim that these impairments are among the leading causes of juvenile delinquency. Without individualized remediation, it is felt the learning disabled, for example, will not be able to cope with the work environment.

7. Situational Theories. These theories argue that delinquency is usually situational in nature, episodic and oriented to short terms goals. Employment provides a structured, supervised environment in which the

youth's access to delinquency-inducing situations is reduced.

In Chapter III the theoretical model is used to classify a sample of actual youth-work programs, most of which have been implemented in Canada. The abstract nature of the theories make it difficult to deduce specific intervention strategies from them. Therefore, actual youth-work programs were investigated to discover intervention strategies compatible with the various theoretical perspectives.

Chapter IV discusses the implications of the theoretical model for selection of intervention strategies, methods, target groups and levels of intervention in the delinquency process. Intervention strategies are distinguished from methods on the grounds that while strategies refer to the general ways in which programs attempt to prevent delinquency, methods refer to the specific techniques used by program staff to implement those strategies. Level of intervention refers to the point in the delinquency process in which programs should intervene. This report makes use of the delinquency prevention model developed by Edelman and Rowe (1982).

Chapter V describes some of the major issues that emerged from the investigation and presents one example of a hypothetical youth-work program model. This model synthesizes some of the major theoretical perspectives and their appropriate intervention strategies for a differential approach to the prevention of delinquency through the identification of "at risk" youths referred to employment programs. Since this model is constructed on the basis of theory, there is no empirical support of its effectiveness. The major issues identified are:

1. Programs designed to raise the self-esteem of youths must be concerned with the type of activities through which self-esteem is to be

raised. These activities must be challenging, relevant, and valuable to both the youth and conventional society.

2. The effectiveness of opportunity enhancement programs for youth who have not yet rejected the norms of conventional society may be impaired by the inclusion of a large proportion of delinquent youths. The latter often require additional interventions before they are ready to take advantage of an opportunity enhancement program.
3. While many youths turn to delinquency as a result of pressure or influence from the peer group, there are some individuals who are isolated from the delinquent subculture. Some intervention strategies that are effective with group-oriented delinquents may be inappropriate for isolated youths.
4. Resource allocation is an important issue for program planners. While every aspect of a program should receive considerable attention and allocation of resources, financial and time considerations require that program managers set priorities. The implications of the theoretical model for which priorities different types of programs should set are discussed.
5. Few employment or work-related programs have been subjected to rigorous evaluation of their effectiveness in preventing or reducing delinquency. Of those evaluations available, evidence about their effectiveness is mixed with the majority reporting that the youth-work programs studied were ineffective in reducing or preventing delinquency. These negative findings suggest, among other things, that: a) evaluations conducted to date may not be methodologically sound and further research is needed, b) programs other than those oriented to youth employment may be more effective at preventing

delinquency, c) program intervention which takes into consideration the differential needs and characteristics of youths have a better chance at success, and d) piecemeal solutions such as youth work programs for youths "at risk" of delinquency may not be as valuable as major social and economic policies which attempt to ameliorate the root causes of delinquency. The best that can be said is if there is a desire to launch youth work programs, the theoretical assumptions about the link between unemployment, delinquency, and other factors can form a basis for the planning and evaluation of such programs.

6. In an economic climate characterized by a shortage of employment opportunities for youths, program planners should carefully examine the values underlying their programs. A program which perpetuates the assumption that self-esteem and social integration can only be achieved through work may do more harm than good for youths who cannot find work regardless of their efforts and motivation.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

While the largest surge in youth-work programs occurred in the relatively healthy economy of the 1960's, renewed interest in these programs is occurring at a time of serious economic recession. Record high unemployment among youths has led to a concern that the frustration and resentment generated by this situation may lead more youths into conflict with the law.

Despite the real lack of opportunities, becoming part of the work force remains a highly-valued rite of passage in our society. Because work defines status and reinforces self-esteem, youth workers continue to seek more effective ways of utilizing work experience as a developmental tool and as a means to prevent delinquency.

The purpose of this study is to explore the empirical and theoretical work that has been done on the relationship between youth unemployment and delinquency with the intention of providing program designers with an overview of this relationship and with some of the methods that have been evolved to respond to it. The first task was to review some of the empirical evidence that argues for a link between the two variables and to present the major theoretical perspectives which have attempted to explain the link. The second task of the study was to collect examples of youth-work programs and examine some of the interventions strategies and methods that have been used for ameliorating the employment problems of youths. The theoretical perspectives were used to classify those programs.

The study uses both a "top-down" and "bottom-up" approach to

identifying issues of program design. The theoretical perspectives are used to classify existing programs while the program descriptions are used to identify intervention strategies compatible with the various theories. The theories themselves tend to be too abstract to facilitate the deduction of specific strategies and methods. Juxtaposed with actual programs descriptions, they become more useful for assisting in program development.

A theoretical analysis of the relationship between unemployment and delinquency is valuable because it allows program designers to clarify the objectives of their program. Rather than simply hoping that something about an employment experience will have an impact on a youth's decision to reject delinquency, designers can focus on what aspect of the youth or the youth's situation they wish to modify.

Another important function of theories is that they provide a basis for deciding on which intervention strategies and methods are most compatible with particular types of programs. Here, it is useful to distinguish between intervention strategies and methods. Intervention strategies are the general ways in which programs attempt to modify the lives of their clients. Examples of intervention strategies are opportunity enhancement, behaviour modification, socialization, educational remediation and self-esteem enhancement. Methods are the specific techniques developed to implement these strategies. Behaviour modification, for example, may use a token economy or a structured pattern of praise as tools of positive reinforcement. Theories themselves cannot determine which methods are likely to be the most effective. Rather, they allow the designer to specify the intervention strategy and determine which methods are most

suitable for implementing that strategy through experiment. The theoretical model also allows for the comparison of different intervention strategies in terms of their effectiveness in preventing or reducing delinquency.

Finally, a theoretical model is valuable in instituting differential treatment. This refers to the fact that there is no single cause of delinquency and so one cannot expect a standardized cure to work for all delinquent youths. Rather, different youths are delinquent for different reasons, and, therefore, an intervention strategy which is effective for one youth may be inappropriate for another.

The findings of the research are used to construct a hypothetical model of a youth-work program. This model makes use of the theoretical perspectives and the program descriptions to produce a comprehensive, albeit untested, treatment program design.

Limitations of the Study

The first major limitation of the study was that a shortage of time prohibited a systematic sampling of youth-work programs. There is no claim that the sample of programs chosen are exhaustive or representative of the total population of youth-work programs. Of the descriptions that were received, selection was based on two criteria. First, those descriptions which provided the most detail in terms of strategies, objectives and methods were selected. Second, there was an attempt to provide a variety of intervention strategies and methods. If two programs used the same strategies and methods, only one was selected.

The second limitation concerned the lack of evaluation studies that have been conducted in the area of youth-work programs. Without knowing

which programs were most effective in reducing delinquency it is difficult to judge which strategies and methods should be included in a program model. Hopefully, the discussion of theories, program types, intervention strategies and other program elements presented in this report can provide a basis for rigorous experiments which can determine which methods are most effective in reducing or preventing juvenile delinquency.

Organization of the Report

Chapter II presents a summary of the evidence regarding the linkage between youth unemployment and delinquency and a review of the major theoretical perspectives which have been developed to explain the relationship. Chapter III provides descriptions of a sample of youth-work programs, most of which have been developed in Canada.

In Chapter IV, the implications of the theoretical model for intervention strategies, target group selection and level of intervention in the delinquency process are explored. Chapter V summarizes some of the major issues which have emerged from the study and presents a hypothetical model of a youth-work program which was developed on the basis of the theoretical model and the programs reviewed in the report. Appendix I contains a detailed description of eight American youth-work programs and Appendix II provides a dicussion of additional implementation issues.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The purpose of this chapter is to present some of the empirical evidence on the relationship between unemployment and delinquency and to examine various theroretical perspectives which attempt to explain the relationship.

2.1 The Relationship Between Unemployment and Delinquency

In 1979, Congressman John Conyers attacked the disciplines of economics and criminology because of their failure to examine the influence of economic conditions on crime and delinquency. He called for a large scale examination of the relationship, claiming:

> Crime and deviance are rooted in concrete social and economic circumstances - in deprivation, unemployment, discrimination, poverty, overcrowded housing, cultural and social marginality...
>
> The Crime Subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee launched a year ago a series of hearings on crime and unemployment. Numerous experts from the social sciences, government, community organizations, and social work and police agencies have testified. The record of these hearings leaves little question of the economic roots of criminal behaviour (Conyers, 1979, p. 138).

At a time when Canada is experiencing the impact of a severe economic downturn, it is important to examine the implications of this situation with regard to delinquency. This section of the report will present existing evidence on the linkage between youth unemployment and delinquency. Four measures of this relationship will be described; the relationship between social class and delinquency rates, the relationship beween unemployment rates and delinquency rates, a comparison of unemployed and employed youths and the effectiveness of intervention programs which

use employment to prevent juvenile delinquency. A summary of the evidence will be presented here. A description of the intervention programs is presented in Appendix I.

2.1.a Socioeconomic Status and Delinquency

If there is a link between unemployment and youth crime than higher delinquency rates should be found among those youths who live in disadvantaged areas where employment opportunity is lacking. This hypothesis was given strong support by early research into the causes of juvenile delinquency conducted by Shaw and McKay who studied delinquency rates in Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, Cinncinati, Cleveland and Virginia (1942). They found that delinquency tended to be concentrated in poverty-stricken, physically deteriorating neighbourhoods. Their findings have been supported by research conducted in Denver in 1960 (Conger and Miller, 1966) and in London, Ontario in 1965 (Jarvis, 1979).

Weaker relationships between low socioeconomic status and delinquency were discovered by Martin Gold in his 1961 study of teenagers in Michigan (1970) and by Travis Hirschi, who researched the causes of delinquency in California (1969). Hirschi concluded:

> In sum, then, there is in the present sample no important relation between social class...and delinquency. We do find a small group at the bottom of the class hierarchy whose children are more likely to be delinquent, and, at the other extreme, we find that the sons of professionals and executives are consistently less likely to be delinquent (1969, p. 75).

Other researchers have questioned research which argues for a relationship between low socioeconomic class and delinquency. Empey and Erickson studied 180 teenage boys in Utah and concluded that there was very little difference in the delinquency rates beween lower class and middle

class boys (1966). Their findings were supported by research conducted by Nye, Short and Olson (1966) and by Vaz's research in Canada (1966).

There are several problems with using the relationship between socioeconomic status and delinquency as a measure of the effect of unemployment on youth crime. First, there are other theories which can account for the relationship. Some theories argue that unstable family life, which tends to be more characteristic of poor neighbourhoods, causes delinquency (Willie, 1967; Rainwater and Yancey, 1967). Other theories claim that lower class culture is conducive to criminal activity or that youths living in lower class neighbourhoods have greater access to adult criminals (Miller, 1966; Sutherland, 1966).

Second, differential law enforcement may also account for a relationship between low socioeconomic status and official delinquency rates. The Justice System may be biased against lower class youths. This position is argued by Nye, Short and Olson (1966), Rachin (1974) and Mardley (1974).

Because of the problems involved with this measure it is necessary to examine other measures of the relationship between unemployment and delinquency.

2.1.b <u>Employment Rates and Delinquency Rates</u>

Early research into the relationship between delinquency and unemployment rates produced inconsistent results. Sellin and Bogen found that, during the depression, delinquency rates tended to decrease (Sellin, 1937; Bogen, 1944). Wagner studied the relationship between the business cycle and crime rates, without differentiating delinquency from adult crime, during the period between 1925 and 1934. In general, he found little evidence of a relationship between the two variables although crimes against

property rose in 1930 and 1931 and burglary rates were on the increase until 1933 (Wagner, 1936).

Glaser and Rice hypothesized that a positive relationship exists between unemployment and adult crime but that there is an inverse relationship between unemployment and juvenile crime. Their examination of F.B.I. reports between 1932 and 1952 supported these hypotheses (Glaser and Rice, 1958). Their methods, however, were criticized by Guttentag (1968) and Fleischer (1963). After re-examining Glaser and Rice's data, using a different method of data analysis, Fleischer concluded that there was a positive, not inverse relationship between unemployment and delinquency (1963).

More recent studies have also found that a rise in unemployment rates results in a rise in juvenile delinquency. Robert Gillespie reviewed ten studies of the relationship between the two variables and reported that the majority found a positive relationship (1975). These results have been corroborated by the work of Phillips, Votey and Maxwell (1972), Justin Payne (1978), Larry Singell (1967), Martin Ross (1973) and Harvey Brenner (1976). In the minority are studies which found no relationship between unemployment and delinquency (Danser and Laub, 1981) or an inverse relationship (See Bullock, 1973).

Although the empirical evidence produced by research into the relationship between unemployment rates and delinquency rates are somewhat inconsistent, the majority point to a positive relationship between the two variables.

2.1.c <u>Comparison of Employed and Unemployed Youths</u>

The third measure of the linkage between unemployment and delinquency

is the weakest, and, as a result, few reseachers have used it. The problem with comparing delinquency rates between employed and unemployed youths is that many nondelinquents are not seeking employment because of a full-time commitment to education. While Votey and Phillips found that nearly 98 percent of rising property crimes committed by juveniles was due to falling employment rates, they did not find any differences in criminal activity between employed and unemployed youths. However, when they restricted their sample to high school drop-outs they did find a positive relationship between the two variables.

Some researchers have tried to determine the effects of unemployment on youths. Levine studied unemployed youths in Canada and found that being unemployed caused them a number of psychological problems. These included boredom, identity diffusion, low self-esteem, guilt and shame, anxiety and fear, anger, depression, demoralization and alienation (Levine, 1982). Clark and Clissold compared 126 young men with 59 employed young men in Australia. They used a questionnaire designed to elicit their respondents' attitudes toward traditional values, political activism and lawlessness. In spite of the expressed commitment of the unemployed to traditional values this group reported a greater attraction to political activism and lawlessness (Clark and Clissold, 1982).

2.1.d <u>The Effectiveness of Youth-Work Programs: The American Experience</u>

The fourth measure of the unemployment-delinquency linkage involves examining the impact which youth-work programs have had on reducing delinquent behaviour among their clients. Youth-work programs can be viewed as an experimental test of the hypothesis that unemployment is related to delinquency by comparing the delinquency rates of those whose employment

opportunities have been enhanced by programs with those who remain economically disadvantaged. Before examining the results of these experiments it is necessary to discuss some reasons as to why they must be treated with caution.

First, there is a lack of adequate evaluation research on youth-work programs. While most programs have included a commitment to evaluation in their proposals few have carried out this commitment. Herman and Sadofsky conducted a study of problems faced by nine American youth-work programs originated under the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime and supported by the Office of Manpower, Automation and Training. Each program had a mandate to carry out evaluations yet only one or two carried out such evaluations. The reasons given included lack of research capabilities and insufficient funds to hire outside researchers, the need for program managers to produce quick results, leading them to stress program development and implementation rather than research, the fact that program activities were continually changing in response to clients' needs, and the lack of clear-cut criteria by which to judge success (Herman and Sadofsky, 1966, pp. 48-50).

Another problem is that existing evaluation studies are of varying and questionable quality. Hackler provided five criteria by which to judge an evaluation report. These include: a clear set of program procedures which can be reproduced, a division of subjects into a treatment and control group, a valid measure of the behaviour that is to be changed, a valid and reliable definition of program success and a follow-up study of both controls and treatment groups. He then cited the work of Logan who found that none of the one hundred evaluation studies which he reviewed lived up to

these standards (Hackler, 1978, pp. 24-25).

A third problem is that most of the youth-work programs that have been evaluated have been American programs and major differences between Canada and the United States may limit the generalizability of these results. The United States contains more large-scale ghetto and slum areas than Canada which perhaps offer greater resistance to the attempts of program staff to affect the lives of their inhabitants. Further, many American delinquents are organized into street gangs, a type of organization which works against the attempts of program staff to rehabilitate delinquent youth.

Finally, programs may have been ineffective in enhancing the employment opportunities of their clients. If the programs were unable to enhance economic opportunity their effectiveness in reducing juvenile crime cannot be taken as a fair measure of the relationship between unemployment and delinquency.

Keeping the above problems in mind, the following will describe the results of eight youth-work programs; the Job Corps, the Provo Experiment, Project New Pride, the Riker's Experiment, the Manhatten Court Employment Project, the Opportunities for Youth Project, the vocationally oriented psychotherapy program and the Kansas Work-Study Program.

The Vocationally Oriented Psychotherapeutic program, the only one which reported a substantial impact on delinquency was evaluated five years after it was implemented and the researchers found that only three of the ten experimental boys had been arrested while eight of the control group had been arrested. Further, the offences committed by the members of the control group were of a much more serious nature (Shore and Massimo, 1967).

Three of the programs: the Jobs Corps, the Riker's Island Project and

Project New Pride, reported modestly successful results. An evaluation of the Job Corps conducted by Mathematical Policy Research concluded that Jobs Corps participants had lower rates of unemployment and lower arrest rates than the control groups (Mallar et al, 1981, cited in Thompson et al, 1981). The results of an evaluation study of the Riker's Island Project indicated that there was an eighteen percent reduction in recidivism among participants compared with controls. However, after analyzing the composition of the experimental and control groups it was found that a greater proportion of the control groups were drug addicts, a condition that greatly increases the chance of recidivism (Taggart, 1972). Project New Pride participants had a 27 percent arrest rate compared with a 32 percent arrest rate for controls (Blew, McGillis and Bryant, 1977).

The four other programs: the Kansas City Work-Study Program, the Provo Experiment, the Manhatten Court Employment Project and the Opportunities for Youth Project, had little or no impact on delinquent behaviour (see Appendix I for a more detailed description of these programs).

2.2 Theoretical Perspectives on Juvenile Crime

The purpose of this section is to present various theoretical models on the relationship between unemployment and juvenile delinquency.

2.2.a The Economic Model of Crime

(i) Becker's Model. The economic model of crime was developed by Gary Becker (1968). Becker argued that criminals are not inherently different from non-criminals in terms of deep-seated personality or motivational structures. The economic model of the rational actor in which individuals attempt to maximize their returns on expended energy can be applied to criminal behaviour. If an individual calculates that the bene-

fits of criminal activity outweigh the costs to a greater extent than is possible from legitimate activity then he or she will choose a criminal career. Limited opportunity to acquire goods legitimately will enhance the attractiveness of the criminal choice.

(ii) Relative Deprivation. Danziger and Wheeler accepted the above characterization of the criminal as a rational being who calculates the most effective means to the goal of economic enrichment. However, they argued that in arriving at a goal of economic enrichment individuals are motivated by their wealth in relation to the wealth of others. Criminal activity is a response to relative rather than absolute deprivation.

Some support for this position has been advanced by the findings of Allen Calvin in the United States. He criticized researchers who argued that the rising crime rate in the prosperous sixties contradicted the hypothesis that economic deprivation is related to delinquent behaviour. First, Calvin showed that the general prosperity was not shared by black youths, the groups who committed the largest proportion of crimes. In 1954 the difference in employment rates between white and non-white youths was less than five percent but by 1977 the difference had grown by over fifteen percent. The unemployment rate for black youths had actually increased during the sixties when the rate for white youths declined. The increase in crime rates may have been due to the greater relative deprivation of black youths during times of prosperity (Calvin, 1981).

Jackson Toby argued that the steep rises in juvenile crime rates from 1927 to the present in advanced industrial nations is largely a result of unmet rising expectations on the part of youths due to general increases in properity. Youths have been denied many of the material goods which prosperity makes available to adults. Toby wrote:

> Poverty cannot cause crime but resentment of poverty can, and curiously enough, resentment of poverty is more likely to develop among the relatively deprived of a rich society than among the objectively deprived in a poor society...- Relative to adults, adolescents feel like a poverty stricken and powerless minority, and how they feel has consequences for how they behave (Toby, 1976, p. 266).

2.2.b Self-Concept Theories

Adherents to self-concept theories argue that employment is the primary activity by which individuals achieve a sense of self-worth and self-esteem. This idea is expressed by Nelson:

> To fully understand the consequences of unemployment, policy makers, service providers, social critics and others must first understand the consequences of their own unemployment. A job is more than a means to get money. To a large extent our identities and our feelings of self-worth are shaped and sustained by the work we do. Indeed, in Canada, it might be said that to be without work is to be a non-person (Nelson, 1981, p. 88).

A recent study by the Canadian Mental Health Association has argued that a link exists between the psychological consequences of youth unemployment, which include boredom, lack of sense of personal identity, low self-esteem, humiliation and frustration, and "drug abuse, suicide, vandalism, and crimes of violence" (Kirsch, 1983).

Reckless, Dintz and Murray have been more explicit with regard to the relationship between self-concept and delinquency. They argue that there are two sets of variables which induce or prevent delinquency. The first are external factors such as environmental, family and opportunity factors. The second are internal factors such as positive self-concepts. They argue that a positive self-concept acts as an insulator against outer inducements (Reckless, Dintz and Murray, 1956).

Another version of the self-concept theory of juvenile delinquency is not directly linked to the issue of unemployment but is reported here

because of its implications for employment programs. Labelling theory argues that while most people engage in some types of deviant activities only a few are apprehended and labelled as deivants. Once an individual is so labelled deviancy becomes part of his or her self-identify, thus easing the transition from occasional deviancy to a stable, deviant career.

Employment programs which target delinquent youths to the exclusion of non-delinquents may be aiding the development of delinquent careers by virtue of the fact that mere inclusion of individuals in programs for delinquents is a form of labelling (Schur, 1973).

Hackler has attempted to merge self-esteem, self-identify and labelling theory into a comprehensive self-concept theory. He argues that individuals with low self-esteem will tend to cause others to anticipate improper behaviour. This in turn leads to the individual perceiving the negative anticipations of others which results in the development of a delinquent self-concept and a search for behaviour that is compatible with the delinquent role (Hackler, 1978, pp. 34-35).

2.2.c Normlessness Theories

(i) Social Structure and Anomie. Robert Merton argued that two elements of social structure are important in understanding deviant behaviour. The first is comprised of culturally defined goals; those aspirations which the individual is socialized into striving toward. The second element is comprised of the socially acceptable or legitimate means through which the individual is induced to pursue culturally defined goals.

Merton argued that in American society everyone is socialized into desiring the same goals. Not everyone, however, has equal opportunity to the legitimate means of obtaining these goals. Working and lower class

people, racial minorities, and residents of certain urban areas find barriers have been placed in their paths. A common response to this situation is to retain the aspiration towards the culturally defined goals but to reject the legitimate means. Criminal activity occurs when an individual has chosen illegitimate means for acquiring culturally defined goals.

(ii) Community Disorganization. Marcia Guttentag has proposed another version of the relationship among unemployment, normlessness, and delinquency. Her theory is intended to account for the contradictory evidence regarding the relationship between unemployment and delinquency; the fact that some researchers have found a positive relationship while others have found an inverse one.

Guttentag argues that it is neither high employment nor high unemployment per se which leads to increasing delinquency rates but rather the effects which rapidly fluctuating employment rates have on community disorganization. In times of high unemployment people are geographically mobile as they move from place to place searching for jobs. In affluent times there is also a great deal of mobility as the unemployed converge in centres of prosperity. This mobility results in neighourhoods that are heterogenous in terms of norms and cultural values. These neighbourhoods are inadequate in that they do not provide stable norms.

> If anomie, i.e. the lack of stable norms in which neighbourhood values reinforce family values, is the significant factor in delinquent behaviour, then (a) where there is a high degree of population mobility, so that no stable neighbourhoods can develop, or, (b) where there is a fast rate of social change, so that norms are drastically different between generations and a situation of normlessness vis a vis parents and children is created, these should all be reflected in high delinquency rates (Guttentag, 1968, p. 112).

because of its implications for employment programs. Labelling theory argues that while most people engage in some types of deviant activities only a few are apprehended and labelled as deivants. Once an individual is so labelled deviancy becomes part of his or her self-identify, thus easing the transition from occasional deviancy to a stable, deviant career.

Employment programs which target delinquent youths to the exclusion of non-delinquents may be aiding the development of delinquent careers by virtue of the fact that mere inclusion of individuals in programs for delinquents is a form of labelling (Schur, 1973).

Hackler has attempted to merge self-esteem, self-identify and labelling theory into a comprehensive self-concept theory. He argues that individuals with low self-esteem will tend to cause others to anticipate improper behaviour. This in turn leads to the individual perceiving the negative anticipations of others which results in the development of a delinquent self-concept and a search for behaviour that is compatible with the delinquent role (Hackler, 1978, pp. 34-35).

2.2.c Normlessness Theories

(i) Social Structure and Anomie. Robert Merton argued that two elements of social structure are important in understanding deviant behaviour. The first is comprised of culturally defined goals; those aspirations which the individual is socialized into striving toward. The second element is comprised of the socially acceptable or legitimate means through which the individual is induced to pursue culturally defined goals.

Merton argued that in American society everyone is socialized into desiring the same goals. Not everyone, however, has equal opportunity to the legitimate means of obtaining these goals. Working and lower class

people, racial minorities, and residents of certain urban areas find barriers have been placed in their paths. A common response to this situation is to retain the aspiration towards the culturally defined goals but to reject the legitimate means. Criminal activity occurs when an individual has chosen illegitimate means for acquiring culturally defined goals.

(ii) Community Disorganization. Marcia Guttentag has proposed another version of the relationship among unemployment, normlessness, and delinquency. Her theory is intended to account for the contradictory evidence regarding the relationship between unemployment and delinquency; the fact that some researchers have found a positive relationship while others have found an inverse one.

Guttentag argues that it is neither high employment nor high unemployment *per se* which leads to increasing delinquency rates but rather the effects which rapidly fluctuating employment rates have on community disorganization. In times of high unemployment people are geographically mobile as they move from place to place searching for jobs. In affluent times there is also a great deal of mobility as the unemployed converge in centres of prosperity. This mobility results in neighourhoods that are heterogenous in terms of norms and cultural values. These neighbourhoods are inadequate in that they do not provide stable norms.

> If anomie, i.e. the lack of stable norms in which neighbourhood values reinforce family values, is the significant factor in delinquent behaviour, then (a) where there is a high degree of population mobility, so that no stable neighbourhoods can develop, or, (b) where there is a fast rate of social change, so that norms are drastically different between generations and a situation of normlessness vis a vis parents and children is created, these should all be reflected in high delinquency rates (Guttentag, 1968, p. 112).

2.2.d Socialization or Social Learning Theories.

Socialization refers to the process by which individuals learn and internalize the information, skills, and norms necessary to integrate them into the dominant society. While many socialization theorists focus on the individual's early years, the transition from school to the workplace is recognized as part of the socialization process. It is the period in which adolescents learn to become adults with the rights and obligations associated with adulthood.

Cloward and Ohlin combined aspects of Sutherland's differential association theory with aspects of Merton's anomie theory. Sutherland argued that criminal behaviour, including techniques, access to resources, and attitudes and norms are acquired through association with individuals already involved in criminal activities (Sutherland, 1966). Merton argued that lack of access to legitimate socially approved goals leads individuals to choose illegitimate means toward obtaining those goals (Merton, 1938). Cloward and Ohlin characterized individuals as having differential access to both legitimate and illegitimate means of obtaining goals and argue that delinquent behaviour will depend on the degree of opportunity both structures provides a particular individual (Cloward and Ohlin, 1961).

Support for this position is provided in Bullock's study of career structures in the ghettos of Los Angeles. Bullock found that inner city youths lacked adequate information about job opportunities and careers. Studies have found that the majority of young people find out about jobs and job opportunities from relatives and friends. Since disadvantaged youths tend to be related to or friends with other unemployed individuals they do not have access to the type of information which would allow them

to become integrated into conventional society. Bullock also found that school guidance programs were inadequate to compensate for this disadvantage.

On the other hand many of the youths living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods did have access to the illegal opportunity stucture. They were able to learn how to function successfully in what Bullock calls the "subeconomy" (Bullock, 1973).

2.2.e Behavioural Theories

Behavioural theories assume that individuals learn patterns of adjustment through positive and negative reinforcements of their behaviour. Deviant behaviour is strengthened when it is more frequently rewarded than conformist behaviour (Akers, Droh, Lanza-Kuduce and Rasosevich, 1979).

Employment provides a system of rewards in the form of wages for conventional behaviour. However, for some youths, this reinforcement schedule may not be strong enough to compensate for previously learned behaviour patterns. Poverty culture theorists such as Banfield argue that by the time a child has reached adolescence in a impoverished area he or she has already learned a syndrome of behavioural patterns such as absenteeism, tardiness and a present-time orientation (Banfield, 1970). These habits are compatible with a criminal lifestyle and must be replaced with habits compatible with work in order for the delinquent to become integrated into legitimate lifestyles.

2.2.f Cognitive Theories

Many researchers believe that cognitive impairment such as learning disabilities are highly correlated with juvenile delinquency. Peggy Koopman and Mary Seaton recently completed a study of learning disabled

inmates in 11 federal penitentiaries. They found that the problems engendered by cognitive impairment were not limited to poor academic performance (Koopman, 1983). The difficulty that many learning disabled youths have with sequencing, attention, memory and inferencing often leads to social problems. For example, some learning disabled children cannot follow an instruction that contains more than a very few steps. When they do not follow the instruction, adults often think they are being deliberately stubborn and disobedient since the instruction seems so straightforward. The child is labelled as having a behaviour problem and may internalize this identity. Also, many learning disabled children have trouble understanding gestures and tone of voice as well as interpreting metaphorical statements made to them. They tend to interpret statements literally.

Learning disabled youths usually perform poorly in school and work situations. This results in frustration and anger which sometimes leads to delinquent behaviour. In order to be able to fit themselves into a normal working environment they may have to undergo intensive remediation, both in the areas of education and social skills.

Not all cognitive impairments affect academic functioning. Some researchers have argued that criminal behaviour is often associated with developmental delays in social skills such as social perspective-taking, means-end reasoning and interpersonal problem-solving. A wide variety of intervention strategies have been developed to remediate these deficiencies (see Ross and Fabiano, 1983).

2.2.g Situational Theories

Situational theories argue that delinquency is not deeply rooted in either the personality structure or the social structural position of

juveniles. They attempt to account for the fact that while most juveniles engage in some form of delinquent behaviour a large percentage of these offenders "mature out" of crime (Thompson et al, 1981, pp. 99-102). Situational theorists argue that delinquency is episodic and oriented to short term goals. The forces that prompt such behaviour are situational in nature rather than deep-seated. Briar and Piliavin write:

> Because delinquent behaviour is typically episodic, purposive, and confined to certain situations, we assume that the motives for such behaviour are frequently episodic, oriented to short-term ends, and confined to certain situations. That is, rather than considering delinquent acts as solely the product of long term motives driving from conflicts or frustrations whose genesis is far removed from the arenas in which the illegal behaviour occurs, we assume these acts are prompted by short-term situationally induced desires experienced by all boys to obtain valued goods, to portray courage in the presence of, or be loyal to peers, to strike out at someone who is disliked, or simply to "get kicks" (Briar and Piliavin, 1965, p. 36).

An example of such situationally induced delinquency is the spontaneous shoplifting sprees that constitute a "game" for groups of adolescent boys.

Matza's "Drift" theory focuses on situational factors. He argues that most delinquents drift between conventional norms and behaviours and delinquent ones. Situational factors may be crucial in determining which set dominates on any particular occasion (Matza, 1964). Unemployment may force adolescents into more delinquency-generating situations because of the lack of structure and supervision which work provides.

CHAPTER 3

PROGRAM DESCRIPTIONS

In this chapter, descriptions of youth-work programs are presented as illustrations of various types of theory-based programs. The theories themselves tend to be quite abstract, making it difficult to draw out concrete suggestions for program design. It is hoped that an examination of actual youth-work programs will provide a means to tie the theoretical perspectives to actual issues of program design.

Most actual programs are eclectic in nature, bringing to bear a wide variety of intervention strategies on the problems of troubled youths. There are more points of similarity among the programs than there are differences. Therefore, classification decisions were based on the emphasis of the program or, in some cases, one component of the program rather than on the assumption that they represent discrete and distinctive types. Several others were excluded because information about them did not arrive in time for inclusion.

While the emphasis of this report is on programs designed to prevent delinquency two other types of youth-work programs have also been included. The first are programs designed for nondelinquent youths such as Junior Achievement, Katimavik and some of the opportunity enhancement programs. The reasons for including them derives from certain theoretical perspectives on delinquency which suggest that "high risk" youths are not only those who have been so identified by the schools, the Justice System and the community. Some youths who show no signs of a tendency towards delinquency may turn to crime under certain conditions unless special measures are taken to ameliorate those conditions. For example, Merton's

theory of normlessness argues that many individuals who adhere to legitimate means for achieving culturally defined goals may reject those means when they are faced with limited opportunities. Thus, opportunity enhancement programs may be defined as delinquency prevention measures even if they do not target those youths traditionally recognized as at "risk" of delinquency. Norm-strengthening programs such as Junior Achievement and Student Ventures may also be included because they may dissuade youths from abandoning legitimate means even in the face of limited opportunity. In the same vein, Reckless's theory argues that the possession of a nondelinquent self-concept may insulate youths from delinquency even when external factors are inducing delinquency. Programs such as Katimavik, which attempt to build self-confidence and a commitment to the community can therefore be viewed as delinquency prevention measures despite the fact that they target highly motivated youths.

The second type of program that has been included consists of rehabilitation programs which work with adjudicated delinquents. The reasons for inclusion is that these programs attempt to prevent recidivism and therefore can be regarded as a form of delinquency prevention.

3.1 The Economic Model of Crime

The major assumption underlying the economic model of crime is that an individual's choice between legitimate employment and criminal activity is based on his or her calculations of the costs and benefits of each option. According to this model, there is nothing inherently unattractive about crime. Most people do not choose crime as a means of acquiring wealth because they are afraid of being apprehended, not because they are morally opposed to it.

Programs which are designed to ameloriate delinquency by raising self-esteem, teaching social skills, changing norms and attitudes or modifying behaviour are incompatible with this model. Traditionally, its proponents have advocated strong deterrence in the form of long sentences or increased chances of being apprehended. They reasoned that harsh sentences would increase the costs of criminal activity and therefore make it less attractive than legitimate employment.

The one-sided emphasis on deterrence has been criticized by Danziger and Wheeler (1975). Earlier in this report, Danziger and Wheeler's theory of relative deprivation was outlined. The authors argued that individual satisfaction is determined by relative rather than absolute wealth. The implications of this theory for policy is that reducing inequality among the total population should be at least as effective if not more effective in reducing crime as deterrence. Danziger and Wheeler claim that a one percent reduction in inequality reduces crime rates to a greater extent than a one percent increase in deterrence (1975, p. 127).

Traditionally, the proponents of the economic model of crime have recomended macroeconomic and social policy changes as a means of crime prevention. This model could also be used to justify programs which simply provide youths with a means of making money so that they will not be tempted to steal. Interestingly, none of the programs reviewed claimed that this was their intention. Most of the program designers argued for the therapeutic nature of their work program. It is possible that program designers believe that funding sources would not support "make-work" programs unless they were able to claim that something about the program would prepare its clients for socially useful, non-subsidized work. Most

funding agencies are reluctant to provide indefinite subsidization to individuals.

3.2 Self-Concept Theories

Proponents of self-concept theories argue that delinquency often results from low self-esteem or the possession of a delinquent self-concept. Hackler has suggested that low self-esteem and a delinquent self-concept are related. He argued that others tend to respond negatively to a youth with low self-esteem. Perceiving this negative response, the youth adopts a negative, sometimes delinquent, self-concept. Programs which assume the linkage between self-esteem or self-concept and delinquency seek strategies to intervene in the youth's perception of himself or herself.

Many program planners assume that an effective youth-work program must modify the self-concepts of their clients. Herman and Sadofsky express this position which they encountered among several project managers:

> Thus, delinquency control is expected to be a consequence of progress toward the more general goals of upgrading and employing disadvantaged youth. There appears to be a series of hypotheses embedded in this approach, roughly as follows: Improvement in the self-image of a disadvantaged youth will lead to improvement in his habits and attitudes toward work, and then to an increase in his employability. In turn, increased employability will lead to employment and to higher levels of self-respect, which will reduce his need to engage in antisocial behaviour (Herman and Sadofsky, 1966, p. 47).

Success in vocational training is one way in which initial self-esteem may be generated. For youths who have had a history of failure in school, the ability to master vocational skills may be their first success. A project manager interviewed by Herman and Sadofsky claimed:

> Vocational skill training is a kind of therapy. These kids love to work with their hands, and this provides them the

> motivation for academic achievement and a total upgrading as a person. Vocational training gives them the therapy they need to recognize their own abilities. It gives them a success experience and something firm (quoted in Herman and Sadofsky, 1966, p. 137).

In order to compensate for the loss of self-esteem suffered by academic failure many schools have instituted work-study programs in which the academic workload is reduced and supplemented by vocational training or work experience (See Donovan, 1981). However, the use of vocational training in schools may backfire if the program is not carefully instituted. In the Kansas City Work-Study Program (see Appendix I) the program planners discovered that vocational training had low status among the student body and that its participants felt that they were being looked down on by the other students. Many of them were embarrassed to be seen in the program. One teacher reported:

> The boys get to be more socially conscious and show that they care about the attitudes of other people in the school - especially the girls. I notice when girls come into the room to deliver bulletins from the office, several boys will cover their faces or slouch down in their seats because they don't want to be recognized as being in this problem class. Four of the boys, especially, talk about being ashamed of being in the program (reported in Ablstrom and Havighurst, 1981, p. 75).

One of the most successful groups had been transferred away from the school for their work program so that they would not be observed doing menial work.

The danger in this type of situation is that negative responses on the part of the non-problem students will force the participants back on their own delinquent peer group for support and lead to a greater alienation of the group from conventional society.

(i) <u>Vancouver Specialized Youth Unit</u>

Many youth-work programs build into their programs special

strategies for raising their clients' self-esteem. The Specialized Youth Unit in Vancouver, British Columbia provides employment training and placement for youths between the ages of 15 and 19, most of whom are high school dropouts. One goal of the program is to enhance the client's feeling of self-worth and self-esteem. The program's counsellors have found that many of the adolescents referred to them are unable to say anything positive about themselves.

The counsellors try to modify the negative self-images of the clients by making a detailed investigation into their histories. Anything positive is recorded and fed back to the clients who then re-enact their previous successes in role-played interviews. The counsellor also assigns a series of tasks that are designed so that the clients can master them. These successes reinforce the clients' developing feelings of self-worth. Throughout the program, the client is praised for successes.

ii) Katimavik

Katimavik also focuses on the self-concept of its participants. This program, funded by the Secretary of State Department brings together youths between the ages of 17 and 21 from all across Canada. They are sent in groups of twelve to three different communities where they perform various tasks such as forestry conservation and community services.

The participants are paid a dollar a day. The groups of eleven share living quarters and cooking and clearning chores. They also learn survival skills in an outdoor setting. The program lasts for nine months and is expected to result in an increased since of competency and self-worth for its participants. It does not target delinquents, preferring to recruit already motivated youth. It is included here because Katimavik bears some similarity to the Outward Bound program developed in the United States. Outward Bound type programs which focus on teaching outdoor survival skills and represent a severe physical challenge to youth can be considered to fall within the self-esteem theoretical framework. It is assumed that overcoming the program's challenges increases the confidence of delinquent and "at risk" youths in their own abilities.

Romig reviewed two studies of therapeutic camping in the United States. Neither program succeeded in preventing or reducing recidivism (Romig, 1978 pp. 98-99). The problem that Romig identified was that the skills learned in these programs were usually irrelevant to the home setting which the youth must return to. He writes:

> There is value for some delinquent youths in getting to the point of being willing to hope for success in their lives. Such youths are those who are so withdrawn or distracted that they cannot benefit from an institutional or community program. If therapeutic camping can engender such hope, then for those selected youth it has value. However, if therapeutic camping does give youths hope and memories of a good experience, but then simply packs them off for home, this approach has done considerably more harm than good. If the youths have not been given the comparable instruction in home survival skills, then they will again fail. This time, hwever, it will be more painful than before, because someone held out hope (Romig, 1978, p. 99).

The issue here is the generalizability of self-esteem raised in one setting (a youth-work program) to the youth's ongoing life after release from the program. If the newly won self-esteem rests on their ability to perform tasks which are not integral to their lives it seems unlikely that it will see problem youths through the setbacks and failures they will encounter in a real life job setting.

A related issue concerns the policy of searching for small successes and building self-esteem on the basis of those experiences. In a real job people are not lavishly praised for being able to show up to work on time or handling a tool without breaking it. A person's sense of accomplishment is typically acquired through comparison with the accomplishments of others. If a program uses the initial praise for small accomplishments to motivate the youth to acquire skills and abilities that can compare favourably with others there is a better chance of lasting success. If, on the other hand, a youth learns to expect positive feedback for small accomplishments the real work world will be a bitter disappointment.

3.3 Normlessness Theories

Merton's theory of anomie bears a surface resemblance to the economic model of crime. It assumes that individuals are rational actors who pursue

goals through the application of appropriate means and that when legitimate means fail to achieve goals criminal activity may be chosen.

Underlying this surface resemblance, however, is a different set of assumptions with important implications for program planning. First, Merton argues that the pursuit of material wealth is not a natural human impulse but is due to socialization into a society which teaches individuals to value material wealth. Second, individuals do not choose legitimate means to pursue their goals simply because of the costs involved in criminal activity. Rather, individuals are taught to value legitimate means over illegitimate ones. They are socialized into accepting a system of norms which favour the use of legitimate means. Crime is rejected not just because it is risky but because it is wrong.

Merton proceeds to argue that when an individual is prevented from pursuing socially acceptable goals through legitimate means he or she may react in a number of ways. One of these ways is called innovation. Individuals choosing innovation reject the legitimate means but retain an interest in the culturally defined goals. They turn to crime to achieve these goals.

Programs designed in accordance with this theory may choose to intervene in one of three ways. They may choose to increase opportunity for the disadvantaged, to strengthen the individual's adherence to norms, or to help the individual adjust his or her goals to a more "realistic" level.

3.3.a Opportunity Enhancement

In devising programs designed to enhance opportunity for the disadvantaged it is important to reach the clientele before they have

chosen criminal activity. If they are disadvantaged but not yet delinquent it can be assumed that they still feel attached to the norms which favour the use of legitimate means. The theory does not indicate if opportunity enhancement is sufficient to reinstate the norms once they have been rejected. Regardless of the effectiveness of the program in enhancing opportunity, the path to success through legitimate means is difficult and uncertain. Those who no longer value legitimate means for their own sake may not be motivated to overcome these difficulties in order to avoid crime. For them, a socialization program may be necessary. Opportunity enhancement programs directed towards individuals who have not yet become disenchanted with the norms of conventional society are able to motivate participants with the hope of achieving desired goals using means they have been socialized into valuing.

Opportunity enhancement programs must first identify disadvantaged youths; those youths who will encounter obstacles in finding employment. Three groups who have been consistently identified by opportunity enhancement programs are high school dropouts, members of lower socio-eocnomic groups or visible minorities, and residents of economically underdeveloped areas.

(i) Project Recovery

Project Recovery was initiated in 1983 under the federal NEED program. It was administered by Delta Youth Services in British Columbia. The program attempted to attract high school dropouts between the ages of 15 and 19 years old. It consisted of a referral service and a series of in-house programs. When clients approached Project Recovery they were assessed to determine their needs. If they required intensive counselling or educational up-grading they were referred to the appropriate agencies.

(ii) W.A.D.E. Outreach Program

The Watershed Association Development Enterprise Outreach Project is an employment program serving black youths in three communities in Nova Scotia. This target group was selected because it suffers from unemployment rates of up to 65 per cent. The program is designed to develop marketable skills by referring its clients to existing facilities. In addition, project staff contact local businesses to explore future job markets. They visit local high schools, informing the students about the future job market and what they will need to fit into it.

The program also provides pre- and postemployment counselling such as interview skills, resume and follow-up counselling with clients and employers. In addition, it helps young people to create their own jobs or to start a small business. It is primarily funded by Employment and Immigration Canada and administered by the Watershed Association Development Enterprise.

(iii) LEAP

The Local Employment Assistance Program is a federally funded job-creation program developed in 1972. Originally, it was concerned with job training and creation but more recently has focused on financing small businesses.

The projects that LEAP supports are intended to help the economically disadvantaged become independent and self-supporting. These projects are run by community groups as these groups are assumed to be familiar with the particular needs of the target population.

Ann Pappert has claimed that in spite of the vast amount of money provided by LEAP it has been ineffective in helping the disadvantaged. LEAP provides start-up capital for up to three years at which point the projects are expected to be self-supporting. Pappert claims that few projects succeed in this goal (Pappert, 1982). The major problem is that the community groups who run the projects have little business expertise. As a result, they are unable to effectively evaluate market demand. An example Pappert gives is a project in Burleigh Falls in which members of the Native community were employed constructing cedar-strip canoes. A cedar-strip canoe company in neighbouring Peterborough had recently gone bankrupt because customers were buying cheaper fibreglass canoes. After three years the Burleigh Falls business had only sold 75 canoes.

Pappert also accuses LEAP of funding projects which train people in skills for which there is no demand. After

working for a short period of time in a LEAP-funded project many participants must return to a position of financial dependence.

3.3.b Strengthening Norms

If opportunity enhancement is not feasible, or as a support for opportunity enhancement programs, planners may consider initiating programs which are designed to strengthen participants' allegiance to conventional norms. Merton's anomie theory does not claim that innovation is the only response to blocked opportunity. Individuals may adopt a position of ritualism, retreatism or rebellion. Ritualism refers to the individual's abandonment of culturally defined goals while maintaining an allegiance to the use of institutionalized means. This occurs when the allegiance to dominant norms are even stronger than the attachment to the goals. Therefore, in addition to enhancing opportunity program planners may wish to undertake programs which strengthen the participants' allegiance to those norms. This should help reduce delinquency even in times of severe recession since the culturally desired goals will be abandoned before the legitimate means.

(i) Junior Achievement

Junior Achievement is a youth program which is designed to strengthen young people's attachment to the free enterprise system. This program does not target delinquent youths specifically but since it does advocate the use of legitimate means to culturally defined goals it can be included here. Junior Achievement helps young people set up their own small businesses so that they can learn to value hard work applied to the acquisition of profit.

Recently the B.C. Chamber of Commerce purchased a set of video cassettes from Ontario. These cassettes, which are to be introduced into high schools and colleges, are designed to give students an understanding of what is involved in going into business. The Ontario Youth Secretariat

had developed a program called Student Venture Capital which gives students experience in running a small business during the summer. It provides loans of up to $2,000 to students 15 years old or over to set up their own small business. This program is also being implemented in B.C. By learning about, or participating in, small business management it is assumed that young people will develop a stronger adherence to the use of legitimate means.

3.3.c Adjusting Goals

Merton argued that most individuals in society have been socialized to accept a uniform set of culturally defined goals. In our society, the acquisition of material wealth defines success. However, not all individuals aspire to the same degree of material wealth. A commonly accepted indicator of personal adjustment is the extent to which an individual has learned to aspire to goals which he or she can reasonably be expected to attain. These goals are different for an electrician than they are for a professional athlete or performer.

It has been commonly observed by youth workers that many disadvantaged adolescents have unrealistic job expectations. Some aspire to careers for which they do not have the ability or talent while others expect a wage scale which is not offered in the positions they hope to fill.

(i) Vocational Guidance Service

Some programs stress career counselling designed to adjust clients' aspirations to what they can reasonably obtain. One such program initiated in Houston, Texas was the Vocational Guidance Service. This project worked with several high school boys from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. They had been referred by their probation officer who participated in the program. The participants met once a week, seating themselves informally around a rectangular conference table.

> The program utilized guided group interaction. There were six categories which formed the basis of the disscussion; the relationship between education and a career, administration of aptitude tests, a lecture on study habits, meetings with representatives from industry, discussion of typical problem situations, and exploration of the boys' relationship with others (Weiner, 1964).
>
> When the boys first entered the program their career choices bore little relationship to their actual abilities. The aptitude tests and exposure to information on careers were designed to adjust career planning to realistic possibilities.

As with other theories of the relationship between delinquency and unemployment, Merton's theory does not provide a deterministic framework for choosing delinquency intervention strategies. It does identify three areas where programs may direct their effort; opportunity enhancement, norm strengthening and goal adjustment. The choice of which area to concentrate on is dependent on both the program's resources and the values of its staff.

Opportunity enhancement is the most common program response. This is a very desirable intervention if the program can follow through on its commitment. Pappert's criticism of LEAP indicates that opportunity enhancement programs can do more harm than good if they involve training individuals for nonexistent jobs. Participants' hopes and expectations are raised only to lead to disappointment when the project ends and there is no where for them to go.

Dennis Romig reviewed twelve reports of youth-work programs in the United States. Most of the programs failed to reduce recidivism, leading Romig to conclude that employment in itself does not prevent delinquency. When he analyzed the components of the few successful programs he discovered that the most important facator in ensuring success was the ability of the program to assist participants in finding jobs which allowed them to

advance. Strategies for providing this service included helping the clients obtain a high school diploma, training them in business fields which offer advancement opportunity and providing them with follow-up counselling and advanced training after job placement. Further, Wiederanders, Luckey and Cross-Drew of the California Youth Authority found that an intensive program designed to teach youths job retention skills was helpful in ensuring program success (1978). Romig concludes:

> Some programs did work. What were their ingredients? The key factor that overlapped in all the successful programs was that the youths were provided job opportunities where either advancement was possible or they were given supportive educational skills and diplomas that made advancement likely...
>
> Job advancement skills, support education programs, a career-ladder frame of reference, or skills for starting new and competing businesses all work to involve youth or inmates positively in careers. It is not simply vocational training or a job that counts; it is giving the individual a job where he or she can hope for advancement (Romig, 1978, pp. 55-52)

Strengthening norms may be a valuable intervention strategy for encouraging individuals to keep striving for success during short periods of economic recession. Most individuals suffer temporary setbacks and short term disappointments and a program which strengthens their attachments to dominant norms can discourage them from crime during these periods. However, if this strategy is used to discourage those who are permanently shut out of the opportunity structure from rebelling it cannot be regarded as a program designed to help its clientele.

Many disadvantaged youths have not had access to the kinds of information which would allow them to make realistic career choices. For

these individuals, career counselling designed to adjust their goals to their abilities can be valuable. The danger inherent in these programs is that counsellors may underestimate their clients' abilities and channel them into non-rewarding occupations. I.Q. and aptitude tests are not foolproof indicators of potential or infallible predictors of future performance. Early labelling of adolescents as incompetent or limited in particular areas may prevent them from striving for goals they could achieve. The worst abuse of this strategy occurs when minority youths are discouraged from training for high status occupations on the excuse that they would not be allowed to enter these occupations because of racial discrimination.

3.4 Community Disorganization

As previously reported, Marcia Guttentag argued that rapid fluctuations in employment rates causes population mobility. The consequences of this mobility are unstable neighbourhoods and inconsistent value structures, resulting in increasing rates of juvenile delinquency. Programs developed to ameliorate the problems of community disorganization focus on strengthening the viability of the community and ensuring the integration of youths into the community.

(i) The Heritage Village Project

> The Heritage Village Project was developed in Quesnel, British Columbia under a Summer Canada grant. The target group were young native Indians who had come into conflict with the law. The project developers believed that the increasing delinquency rates among native youth in the community was due to the fact that these youths had "lost touch" with their culture. The work program was designed to reintegrate them into the native culture and community.
>
> During the summer months the participants constructed a sweat lodge, a log changing room and a fish drying stand. These were traditional native structures which were built

for the native community. In order to build them, the youths had to consult with the elders of the community as they were the only ones who had the required knowledge. The program planners felt that this aspect of the project would help reintegrate the juveniles into the native community. Although the program was not formally evaluated, the project leader noted that none of the participants had recidivated while they were involved in the program.

(ii) Community Development Corporations

Community Development Corporations were developed in the United States during the 1960's to revitalize deteriorating neighbourhoods. The Community Development Corporation is the core of the neighbourhood revitalization projects. These corporations are private, non-profit organizations which accumulate capital for investment in community projects.

Underlying the concept of Community Development Corporations is the assumption that piecemeal solutions to neighbourhood improvement will fail. Housing projects tend to deteriorate when economic opportunity does not accompany better housing. The initiation of small businesses result in bankruptcy when there is no general improvement in the neighbourhood. Community Development Corporations attempt to initiate and coordinate a broad range of community services (Center for Community Economic Development, 1975, p. 2).

Two Canadian community economic development projects are New Dawn Enterprises and Youth Ventures Development.

(iii) New Dawn

New Dawn was incorporated in 1976 in Nova Scotia. It is composed of a Business Division, a Social Divison and a Cultural Division. The Business Division has built two small apartment buildings and has purchased and renovated several old buildings. It also funds viable and useful business ventures proposed by members of the community. The Social Division operates a Senior Citizen Guest Home, a Group Home for former mental patients, dental facilities, a Senior Citizens Resource Centre and a referral service. The Cultural Division helps support the Cape Breton School of Crafts and promotes entertainment and the development of local culture (Doyle, 1980, PP. XVIII-XXI).

(iv) Youth Ventures

Youth Ventures was developed in Toronto in 1979 under a LEAP grant. It was designed to ameliorate problems caused by the high youth unemployment and dropout rates in Toronto. Youth Ventures is sponsored by the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto and the Learnxs Foundation.

The first two projects developed by Youth Ventures were a waste paper recycling business and a waste wood recycling business. This latter enterprise involves processing wasted wood and selling it as firewood. It employs 15 youths. (Shuttleworth, 1983).

Community Development Corporations have traditionally sought a broad funding base. They have received grants from various levels of government, from private non-profit corporations and from profit-oriented businesses. The broad funding is necessary both because CDC's need investment capital and because of the extensiveness of their projects. Barry Stein, who evaluated CDC's in the United States, argued that the initial costs of CDC's are justified in terms of their success in improving community conditions, enhancing employment opportunities and initiating viable business enterprises (Stein, 1983).

3.5 Socialization or Social Learning Theories

Proponents of social learning theories assume that both conventional and criminal behaviour must be learned. However, their definition of learning is much broader than that of the behaviourists who study specific behavioural responses to particular stimuli. The social learning theorists assume that in order to routinely engage in some activity, whether it is legitimate work or crime, an individual must learn the necessary techniques, skills, information, norms and attitudes. In most cases, they require access to people who will teach them.

Youth-work programs which use the social learning approach usually target those adolescents who (a) have not had an opportunity to learn how

to fit into conventional society and (b) have access tro a delinquent peer group which has instructed them in some of the skills, information and norms which facilitate integration into the delinquent subculture. These programs frequently emphasize peer group counselling and group work projects.

(i) Alberta Seventh Step Society

The Calgary branch of the Alberta Seventh Step Society offers a program called TRIAD for youthful offenders. TRIAD is basically a peer counselling group which meets regularly to discuss common problems. The meetings are held once a week and last for two hours. The emphasis is on self-help. The adult supervisor adopts a non-directive approach in which the peer group is allowed to determine both the topics and the direction of the talk.

The core of the program is the "Hot Seat" in which a group member presents a personal problem to the group for discussion. This is a highly confrontative sitution which often results in group criticism of the member. However, the adult leaders ensure that the session is ended on a positive note. Underlying the group sessions is the assumption that peer pressure is essential in bringing about behavioural change in the individual. The program is designed to teach its participants conventional norms and attitudes by changing the orientation of the peer group.

Recently TRIAD members have been allowed to become involved in one of the Society's adult work programs' the Triple "S" Bottle Depot. The depot employs eight people and provides training. The Society is trying to get funding for a summer youth work program.

(ii) Skeena Youth Work Incentive Program

The Skeena Youth Work Incentive Program was initiated in 1978 in Terrace, B.C. to help ameliorate the growing delinquency rate which accompanied an economic slump beginning in 1976. The program was designed to aid at-risk youths between the ages of 15 and 17 to achieve economic self-sufficiency and succcessful integration into conventional society. While many were referred from probation officers (nearly 80 percent had come into conflict with the law) participation was voluntary. The program planners wanted its clientele to think of the program as an

incentive rather than a punishment.

The participants were paid an hourly wage which was increased according to performance. The initial project on which they worked was renovating an old farm which community youth groups used for picnics and other outings. After they had completed this project they concentrated on producing marketable goods such as lawn tables, hanging baskets and stained glass, some of which were sold to the public in shopping malls.

The program was divided into four stages. In the first stage, the participants were introduced to the program, given counselling and an academic assessment. They then began to learn work habits, good attitudes, social skills and care of tools. Stage Two provided them with more extensive training in tool use, plan reading and marketing.

By Stage Three the focus of the program turned to preparing the enrollees for release. They were helped to develop short and long term work and educational goals and were instructed in job search and job retention skills. During Stage Four an attempt was made to place the participants in permanent jobs. Follow-up counselling was provided.

An important component of the Work Incentive Program was the Life Skills program which included basic skills such as cooking, budgeting, interpersonal relations and sex education (Nelms-Matzko, 1982).

(iii) Merritt Youth Employment Service - "Energy Unlimited"

"Energy Unlimited" was developed in 1982 for the purpose of helping "at-risk" youth in the Merritt District to become integrated into conventional society by providing a source of self-generated income, by teaching youths good work attitudes and skills, and by encouraging them to work cooperatively.

The program recruited youths between the ages of 13 and 17 years. It was intended that the majority be at-risk youths while a small proportion should be "exemplary" youths. The latter group were to act as role-models for the at risk group.

The program hired a coordinator/consultant who was responsible for screening the youth workers, training and counselling them, liaising with the community, and helping the youths get established. The intention was that the youth workers, would eventually operate the program themselves in order to teach them responsibility and self-sufficiency. The tasks to be undertaken were mostly personal service jobs such as wood cutting, clean-up,

painting, delivery of advertisement flyers and keeping up yards.

While the recruitment process proceeded rather slowly, the program was designed to accomodate ten workers, two or three exemplary youth and seven or eight delinquent youth. Unfortunately, the program was unable to retain the delinquent youths and most of the work ended up being done by the exemplary ones. In 1983 the program was taken over by the coordinator of a neighbouring youth service and run mostly for the benefit of motivated youths. It still intends to take on "at-risk" youths once it becomes established and stabilized (Rowe, 1983).

(iv) The Delta Youth Employment Program

This program was initiated in 1980 to help at-risk youths between the ages of 16 and 19 years to develop appropriate work skills, habits and attitudes and to achieve economic self-sufficiency. The program was funded through a LEAP grant and operated by the Delta Youth Services and Crime Prevention Society. In addition to its goals of increasing the participants' employability and reducing their delinquency the program focused on developing positive attitudes toward work, increasing job skills and enhancing social and life skills.

The program provided a workshop in which products such as furniture, curbs and picnic tables were constructed. It operated as a small business by bidding on contracts from other other firms and organizations. Because of the low bids it put in, it was usually successful in winning contracts.

The means by which the program sought to achieve its goals changed radically within its three years of operation. during the first phase a behaviour modification program utilizing a point system was implemented. Each point earned by the youth was worth 11.25 cents. The participants could earn up to $3.75 per hour depending on their performance. After they had achieved a satisfactory level of performance, they were taken off the point system and paid a straight hourly wage which could be raised up to $4.50 per hour. The problem with this system was that most of the points were awarded for life skills or social skills rather than productivity. Productivity was low and the system was not teaching the youths respect for work since they could manipulate it by acting in a manner pleasing to staff.

During the second phase the program restricted enrollment to youths between the ages of 17 and 19 years who had been out of school and unemployed for at least three months. There was also an attempt to increase the percentage of referrals

> from probation and the Ministry of Human Resources. The point system was abandoned and a weekly evaluation of behaviour and job performance was implemented. Participants started at $3.75 per hour and could make up to $4.50 an hour depending on performance. Rewards were based more on job-related behaviour than previously and the program's success in terms of job placement increased sharply. However, overall attitude, motivation and independent work habits were still poor. As a result, several changes were made and the program began its third phase.
>
> Rewards in the third phase were directly tied to production rather than an inventory of behaviours. The participants were organized into small work teams which were responsible for monitoring and rewarding their members. The teams were also responsible for ordering supplied and setting production goals. They were paid on a piece-work basis. Staff maintained control over quality, safety and access to tools (Rowe, 1982).

Like the TRIAD program a major focus on the Delta Youth Employment is on the peer group and group work situations. However, instead of trying to change the orientation of the peer group through group counselling sessions, the Delta Youth Employment Program has tried to change it through making the earnings of each member dependent on the work team. Three techniques of peer group intervention have been described in this section. They are:

1. Peer group counselling as a adjunct to group work;
2. Introducing exemplary youths into a group of delinquents with the hope that the former will act as role models for the latter; and
3. Tying the reward system to work teams so that each team has an interest in ensuring that its members are displaying an appropriate commitment to work.

Social learning programs usually place considerable emphasis on the peer group. This is due to the belief that adolescents learn behaviour in small, intimate groups. Since the peer group is composed of persons the individuals feel attracted to, they are considered to exert a powerful influence on what he or she learns. It is therefore necessary to recruit the peer group and turn it into a force that can help teach conventional norms and attitudes (Empey and Erickson, 1972).

This strategy does not always work. The program managers interviewed by Herman and Sadofsky were ambivalent about the use of peer group counselling. Some managers favoured it claiming, "The more advanced group members tend to serve as model sources of inspiration to their less advanced peers". Others, however, felt that peer counselling groups tended to reinforce "street attitudes" by reproducing the social organization of youths on the street (Herman and Sasofsky, 1966, p. 95).

Sometimes the use of peer groups in youth-work programs can produce unforeseen consequences. In 1957, the Fuld Neighbourhood House in New Jersey initiated a summer Work Camp Project for a group of 15 delinquent boys. These boys had participated in a club run by the Neighbourhood House for a year and had grown attached to a particular counsellor. The work program took place in a camp and involved clearing trails, digging ditches and removing heavy growths of trees.

When the boys returned they discovered that participation in the program had given them high status with the other boys in the neighbourhood. They became cocky, bullyish and dominating. In the fall, the counsellor they had grown attached to did not return and the new staff members made it clear that their dominating behaviour would not be

tolerated. The boys reacted by throwing chairs and threatening new members with violence. The work project had served to strengthen their identity as a group without teaching them conventional norms and behaviour (Fried, 1959).

Another possible issue surrounding the use of socialization programs concerns labelling. These programs tend to recruit at-risk youths who are associating with other potential or actual delinquents. Inclusion in a program designed for problem youth may strengthen the delinquent self-concept of those who are not yet committed to a delinquent career, and do not think of themselves as delinquents. Some programs avoid the problem of labelling by assuming that all young people must be taught how to successfully make the transition from school to work. Levitan and Mangum describe a program run by the Nova schools in Florida called the "Technology for Children" project. All the elementary schools children are exposed to a wide range of employment-related activities involving games, tools and mechanical devices. This exposure begins in grade one. During grades seven and eight, the students learn fundamental concepts of technology and are introduced to a wide range of vocational and career possibilities. Between grades nine and twelve the students are given a broad vocational training within a family of occupations so that their options are not narrowed. By the time students graduate they already possess considerable knowledge of the work world (Levitan and Mangum, 1969).

The issues of negative peer group influence and the development of a delinquent self-concept through inclusion in a program for problem youths are not restricted to social learning programs. They are general concerns for youth-work programs which serve at-risk youth.

3.6 Behavioural Theories

Programs that treat juvenile delinquency through behaviour modification make different assumptions about the cause and cure of the problem than other treatment orientations described so far. Behaviour modification does not focus on internal states of the individual such as self-esteem, cognitive functioning, norms or the rational calculation of means and ends. It treats delinquent behaviour as a set of responses which have been learned through positive reinforcement. It recommends that delinquency prevention programs concentrate on reinforcing conventional behaviour.

(i) The House of Concord

The House of Concord is a residential program in British Columbia for boys between the ages of 14 and 17. Participation is not voluntary. The residents are referred by probation officers. The program is fuunded by the Corrections Branch and run by the Salvation Army. The average stay is four months. While it targets adjudicated delinquents and so is not strictly a delinquency program, it provided the clearest example of behaviour modification techniques used to induce conventional behaviour.

The House of Concord offers services in the area of remedial education, peer group counselling, recreation and vocational training, specifically woodwork and auto-mechanics. The behaviour modification program is based on a points system. The residents can earn points in four areas; academic and vocational training, involvement in recreational activity, attention to basic rules and showing caring behaviour towards other residents and staff.

The residents carry cards which record their accumulated points for the day. The points can be used to facilitate their progress through the program. They can earn leaves, movement to more permissive cottages and early release from the program. The points are also tied into a rating scale which in turn is tied into a money system. In the first few weeks the boys are given tokens but after that they can earn a dollar a day. There are also bonuses given at the end of the week to reward sustained behaviour and fines for undesirable behaviour. The fines may be exacted in points or money.

Romig examined several behaviour modification programs initiated in juvenile institutions. He concluded that while these programs were useful for maintaining acceptable behaviour in the setting they did not have any effect on post-release delinquent behaviour. The learned behaviour was not generalized into settings apart from the specific setting in which it was learned (Romig, 1978, p. 15). The following program tries to avoid the problem of lack of generalizability by applying behaviour modification principles to the actual activity which is to be modified.

(ii) The Job Finding Club

The Job Finding Club is a national program sponsored by Employment and Immigration Canada. It is rarely instituted as an independent program. Rather, larger programs such as youth-work programs may include a Job Finding Club as part of their program. It was developed by Dr. Nathan Azrin, an American behavioural psychologist. The Job Finding Club is an intensive, structured two-week program which focuses on teaching effective work-related behaviour. The members meet for four hours every day in the office of the Job Finding Club and are encouraged to spend another two hours following up job leads. The intention is to have the participants treat job finding as a full time job in itself.

The program is highly structured. It has broken down the job finding process into step-by-step procedures such as deciding on what kind of job is wanted, listing possible leads, telephoning possible employers, preparing resumes, filling out application forms and practicing interview skills. The counsellors supervise every step and provide continual positive reinforcement for every behaviour performed correctly. The members of the group also provide positive reinforcement as well as sharing job leads. It is important that the member is praised for specific behaviour such as conducting a telephone inquiry properly or writing an effective letter. The Club provides all the material necessary to the job finding process and encourages its members to perform the various steps in the office under Club supervision.

Dr. Azrin, the program's developer has tested the effectiveness of Job Finding Clubs in a wide variety of settings. One study compared 196 clients enrolled in a Job Club with 150 clients in an information-discussion role-playing group. After six months 88 percent of the Job

Finding Club's clients had found jobs while only 71 percent of the nonsupervised clients were employed (Azrin, Besalel, Wistozek, McMorrow and Bechtel, 1982). Azrin also found the program effective with the job handicapped (Azrin and Philip, 1979) and welfare recipients (Azrin, Thienes-Hontos and Besalel, 1980).

(iii) Youth Employment Service

Several youth organizations in Canada have incorporated job finding clubs into their programs. One example is the Youth Employment Service of Toronto which was established in 1969. It accepts clients between the ages of 15 and 24, most of whom have not completed high school. Several of them are functionally illiterate. The majority of the clientele are from a low socio-economic background and over one-quarter are on probation. The Toronto Youth Employment Service uses their Job Finding Club, the Pre-Emplopyment Training Club, to help youths who have not been able to find a job through their regular program. Of the 30 clients who have participated in the club, ten found work while two returned to school (Wood, 1983).

3.7 Cognitive Theories

In addition to social, emotional and behavioural problems many delinquent youths suffer from learning disabilities or minimal brain dysfunction. The term "learning disabilities" encompasses a group of disorders which prevent or delay development in attention, memory, reasoning, coordination, reading, social skills and a number of other areas. Both school and work performances may be seriously impaired by these disabilities if they go unremediated.

(i) Step-Up School

Step-Up School was initiated in Vancouver in 1971 to help learning disabled adolescents who have come in conflict with the law. The project is jointly funded by the Vancouver School Board and the Ministry of Attorney General. Students are referred to the program by their probation officers.

The program attempts to improve academic skills, particularly reading and arithmetic, to develop appropriate social adjustment and to prepare students for employment by bringing them up to grade ten level and instructing them in basic work habits such as attendance, regularity and punctuality. In addition, Step-Up provides work experience

in office and janitorial work.

During the first two weeks of attendance, the student is diagnosed through a series of standardized tests designed to detect his or her specific disabilities. This allows the Step-Up staff to develop an individualized program to meet each student's particular needs. Enrollment is kept down to under fifty students so that each may be treated on an individual basis. This is crucial for remediating the problems of a group of students with heterogenous learning problems.

Students attend Step-Up school for two hours a day, five days a week. They start by taking four one-minute tests (called probes) in mathematics, spelling, reference and oral reading. Each performance is expected to improve slightly over the last performance. The performance goals are raised very gradually so that the students do not get discouraged.

Step-Up school uses two techniques of behaviour modification; rewarding the students for observable behaviour and use of a token economy in which students can earn up to 90 cents a day for performing well. In addition, the program has developed a highly structured environment in which tasks are broken down into a series of sequenced steps and expectations are made as clear as possible. Positive reinforcement is also given in the form of praise for specific behaviours.

The program claims considerable success in preventing recidivism. Of 253 graduates up to 1983, only 18 were in custody and 25 were unemployed (Tompson, 1983, p. 21).

3.8 Situational Theories

Unlike theories which attribute delinquency to inadequate personality structures, differential learning experiences, cognitive impairment, negative behavioural conditioning, insuffficient internalization of conventional norms or blocked opportunity, situational theorists assume that most adolescents engage in some form of delinquent behaviour. For the majority of youths, delinquency is a normal part of growing up, something they will "mature out" of without special intervention. These youths are not deeply committed to a delinquent way of life and, if the effect of labelling is taken into account, intensive intervention may do more harm

than good. In addition to "maturing out" of crime, there is also a tendency to "mature out" of unemployment. Thompson et al report on a study by the U.S. Department of Labor which indicates that unemployment rates decrease sharply for individuals 20 years of age and older (Thompson et al, 1981, p. 99).

Researchers that emphasize the situational nature of delinquency may perceive youth-work programs as having value because they perform an "aging vat" function. That is, they keep adolescents occupied and reduce exposure to delinquency-inducing situations until the youths grow up.

Herman and Sadofsky, for example, found that the work programs they studied had enormous problems in training and placing 16 and 17 year olds. These youths would drop out of programs and quit jobs. Most of them were not ready to be integrated into the work force. The authors concluded:

> It may be that the objective of employment is simply not applicable to youth in this age group. They may require a more extended educational and training program or placement in a program that serves as an "aging vat" (1966, pp. 35-36).

Levitan and Mangum argued that the Neighbourhood Youth Corps program in the United States was unable to live up to its goals of developing new careers for disadvantaged youths. It was valuable, however, in providing a minimal amount of support until the clients reached adulthood. They wrote:

> The rationale for viewing NYC as an "aging vat" rests on the fact that unemployment rates among youths decline as they mature into adulthood. There is room, therefore, for a program which provides youths with income and work during their early years in the labor force, even if it does not provide them education and training (1969, p. 230).

Programs which are based on the theory tht delinquency is situational in nature and represents a normal part of growing up do not need to be concerned with targeting "high risk" groups. The assumption is that most adolescents who are not already involved in structured activities can be served by a youth-work program since it is the lack of involvement in structured activities that increases the likelihood of adolescents finding themselves in delinquency-inducing situations. Government departments or community agencies may sponsor programs such as Summer Canada or Ontario's Winter Experience program that find jobs for students when they are off school for the summer and part-time jobs during the school year. High school dropouts are also an important target group because of the amount of free time they have.

The validity of the assumption that adolescents will "mature out" of unemployment may be reduced during times of economic recession or stagnation. Dale Shuttleworth has expressed pessimism about the future prospects for today's high school students. He stated:

> During the last few years, we've been told that the high-tech industries would be a major new source of jobs for everyone. In fact, technology is becoming so sophisticated that its's actually getting easier to operate and won't be needing as many highly skilled jobs. Canadian officials fear as many as two million high-tech jobs will be lost within ten years out of a workforce of only ten million.
>
> It is expected that many graduates of high schools and post secondary institutions will be following careers for which they were not trained and in the process will probably displace less educationally advantaged workers who could have been employed in the past. A U.S. study indicates that in 20 years the best bet for employment will be in low-skill jobs such as building maintenance, fast-food workers and kitchen helpers (Shuttleworth, 1983, p. 4).

Ann Dietsche of the Boys and Girls Club of Greater Vancouver has

stated that youth-work programs must adapt to this situation. The program that she is involved with, The Door, encourages its members to explore other possibilities besides immediate job placement. They are urged to consider furthering their education as well as becoming involved in volunteer work. In addition, The Door, helps the youths develop leisure skills such as silkscreening or photography. These skills help maintain the adolescent's self-esteem and his or her involvement in non-delinquent activities even when employment is not immediately available.

3.9 Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to explore the relevance of the theoretical model to intervention strategies and target group selection by examining model youth-work programs. The following chart provides a summary of the Chapter's findings.

CHART I

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES	INTERVENTION STRATEGIES	METHODS	TARGET GROUPS	PROGRAMS
Economic Model of Crime	Intervene in the rational calculation of means and ends	a) Deterrence through longer sentences and increased probability of apprehension b) Equalize incomes through tax laws	The population is general	Macrosocioal and economic policies
Self-Esteem/ Self-Concept	Raise self-esteem in order to motivate youth to perform at a level which will initiate a positive response from the community.	Begin with simple tasks and gradually work up to more dificult ones. Make tasks relevant to the youth's immediate environment. Search youth's history for successes and point these out to him/her. Give praise consistently for good performances.	Youth with low self-esteem or negative self-concepts	Specialized Youth Unit
Merton's Normlessness Theory	Enhance economic opportunity for the disadvantaged	Research job market, find out which areas of employment lead to advancement and what qualifications are required for entry. Provide educational remediation such as that offered by the Job Corps. Provide extensive follow-up training and counselling.	Disadvantaged youth - high school dropouts - members of disadvantaged socio-economic and ethnic groups - residents of under-developed areas	Opportunity Corps Project Recovery W.A.D.E. Outreach LEAP
Community Disorganization	a) Strengthen the normative integration of disorganized communities b) Reintegrate youths into their communities	a) CDC's which raise investment capital for general community development projects b) Create work programs that encourage youths to explore their cultural roots and to consult with respected community members	a) Youths who live in communities characterized by extensive population mobility or cultural heterogenity b) Youths who are alienated from their community and culture	Youth Ventures New Dawn Heritage Village
Socialization/ Social Learning	Socialization programs which teach youth the skills, knowledge attitudes and values necessary to become integrated into society	a) peer group counselling and group work projects b) mixing "exemplary" youth with delinquents c) small production teams Teach social and life skills along with work skills	Disadvantaged youth who have been in trouble with the law or who associate with delinquents.	Alberta 7th Step SYWIP Delta YES Merritt Youth Employment Program
Behavioural Theories	Behaviour modification of poor work habits and anti-social behaviour	Break down tasks into their constituent steps. Institute a structured positive reinforcement schedule using praise or a token economy.	Youth who have not developed adequate work and behaviour habits to fit into conventional society.	Job Finding Club House of Concord
Cognitive Theories	Remediation of academic, work and social skills	Highly structured, individualized programs in which tasks are broken down to their constituent steps. Stress small improvements on day-to-day basis, diagnosis of specific impairments.	Youth whose behavioural problems seem to stem from cognitive impairments.	Step-Up School
Situational Theories	Occupy free time, provide spending money	Make work programs, teach interesting skills such as photography and silk-screening.	Youth in general a) after school b) summer holidays c) dropouts	Winter Experience Summer Canada The Door

CHAPTER 4

THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE THEORETICAL MODEL FOR INTERVENTION STRATEGIES, TARGET GROUP SELECTION AND LEVEL OF INTERVENTION

The purpose of this chapter is to draw out the implications of the theories outlined in Chapter I for the selection of intervention strategies, target group selection and level of intervention in the delinquency process. Intervention strategies refer to the general ways in which programs attempt to prevent or reduce delinquency through work. They are to be distinguished from methods which define the specific techniques used by program staff to modify aspects of the youth or the youth's situation. For example, socialization is an intervention strategy which attempts to provide youths with the knowledge, skills, experience, values and attitudes they will need to fit into conventional society. Socialization and social learning theories of delinquency indicate that this is an appropriate strategy for reducing delinquency. However, the program designers must still decide on the most effective methods of socializing youths. The theories themselves do not provide a basis for determining which methods will work or indeed whether youth work programs in general are effective strategies for crime prevention. This must be discovered by experiment and experience. The program descriptions presented in Chapter II reported some of the methods that have been devised for implementing various intervention strategies and so a discussion of methods will be included in this chapter.

Target group selection is an important issue for three reasons. First, delinquency prevention programs have limited resources. Intensive programs cannot be offered to all youths on the assumption that all youths are at some risk of delinquency. Program planners must have methods of deciding which youths are at high risk of becoming delinquent. The theore-

tical perspectives are one means to identify these youths.

The second reason that target group selection is important is that, for some youths, intervention into their lives may do more harm than good. Inclusion of youths who are not in danger of becoming committed to delinquent career may help foster a delinquent self-concept.

Third, delinquency is a complex phenomenon with no single cause. Youths turn to delinquency for different reasons and may require different treatments. The theoretical perspectives provide a basis for deciding what kind of treatment a particular youth should receive.

Level of intervention refers to the point in the delinquency process in which programs should intervene. This report makes use of the model developed by Edelman and Rowe which identifies five levels of intervention (1982). Level Zero refers to programs which are intended to generally improve the quality of life for all members of society. These programs do not involve targeting specific groups of youths but attempt to provide general community services. Level One includes programs that attempt to influence the attitudes of members of the society by increasing their commitment to conventional norms and values. Level Two programs attempt to identify high risk groups or individuals and intervene before they have turned to crime. Level Three programs deal with minor and first offenders while Level Four programs concern post-charge or post-court serious and repeat offenders. For the purposes of expendiency, in this review, Levels Three and Four have been combined.

It is recognized, however, that Level Three programs are treating those youths at risk of delinquency and/or who have committed minor delinquencies and thus may not yet have developed a delinquent self-concept.

Level Four clients have, in most cases, probably internalized the delinquent self-concept. Since this distinction affects only one of the theories and programming strategies, it was decided not to separate the two levels here.

4.1 The Economic Model of Crime

1. Intervention Strategies and Methods. This model recommends that methods be found to intervene in the rational calculations of means and ends which lead some individuals to choose criminal means. Two methods that have traditionally been advocated are deterrence, i.e., increasing the severity of sentences and increasing the probability of apprehension, and equalization of income through taxes.

2. Target Group. The population in general.

3. Level of Intervention. Level Zero/One.

4.2 Self-Esteem Theories

1. Intervention Strategies and Methods. These theories indicate that intervention be directed to modifying the self-esteem or strengthening conventional identities of the clientele. Several methods have been developed for implementing this strategy. They include setting clients very simple tasks at the beginning of the program and gradually working up to more difficult ones, searching clients' histories for successes and pointing them out, giving praise for positive performances and attempting to increase the community's appreciation of youths. In implementing this strategy, it is important to use initial praise to motivate the youth to levels of performance that will earn praise in the community.

2. Target Groups. Youths with low self-esteem.

3. Level of Intervention. These theories indicate that intervention may be appropriate at all Levels of Intervention. All youths might benefit from programs such as Katimavik which attempt to provide adolescents with the confidence to enter adulthood. More specialized programs may be needed in e.g., Levels Three and Four for youths who are already engaging in delinquent behaviour.

4.3 Normlessness Theory

Three different intervention strategies are inferrable from this theory; opportunity enhancement, norm strengthening and aspiration adjustment.

(1) Opportunity Enhancement

1. Intervention Strategies and Methods. Opportunity enhancement programs must ensure that they do not become temporary make-work programs which send their clients back to a state of dependence. They should research the job market to find out if the training they provide is in demand. They should also ensure that the jobs they prepare trainees for have a future. The questions to be asked are a) will this job be made redundant by technology and b) does the job provide opportunity for advancement. Other methods which have been developed for opportunity enhancement are intensive follow up training and counselling, remedial education programs such as the one developed by the Job Corps, on the job training in business and industry, and union-run apprenticeship programs.

2. Target Groups. These programs should be directed at disadvantaged youths such as high school dropouts, members of disadvantaged socioeconomic

or racial groups, and residents of economically underdeveloped areas.

3. Intervention Strategies and Methods. Level Two.

(ii) Norm Strengthening

1. Intervention Strategies and Methods. Programs which use this intervention strategy have often focused on giving youths experience in and informing them about conventional means of generating income such as operating a small business. The increased familiarization and experience in business practice is intended to increase commitment to legitimate means.

2. Target Groups. Youths in general.

3. Level of Intervention. Level Zero/One.

(iii) Aspiration Adjustment.

1. Intervention Strategies and Methods. This intervention strategy makes use of interest and aptitude tests, career counselling and visits to local industries or other places of work. Counsellors should be knowledgeable about the structure of the job market, such as different types of careers, what qualifications are required and what they pay.

2. Target Groups. Youths in general.

3. Level of Intervention. Level Zero/One.

4.4 Community Disorganization

1. Intervention Strategies. This theory indicates that intervention should be focused on strengthening the normative authority of the youth's immediate environment either by modifying disorganized and culturally heterogenous communities or by integrating alienated youths into their communities. The first task has usually been attempted by Community Development Coporations which raise investment capital for instituting

overall improvements in a community. CDC's reject piecemeal solutions because improvements effected in one aspect of community life such as housing tends to deteriorate in the absence of overall improvement.

The second task involves creating work programs which encourage youths to explore their cultural roots and to consult with respected community members.

2. Target Groups. a) Youths who live in communities characterized by high population mobility or a heterogenous cultural composition, b) Youths who are alienated from their community and culture.

3. Level of Intervention. Level Two.

4.5 Socialization or Social Learning Theories.

1. Intervention Strategies and Methods. This theory recommends the implementation of socialization programs which teach youths the skills, knowledge, attitudes and values necessary to become integrated into society. Typically, these programs have attempted to reverse the delinquent social learning provided by the peer groups. Three methods developed for implementing this strategy are group work projects which include peer counselling sesssions, mixing in "exemplary" youths with delinquents in the hope that they will provide a role model for the delinquents, and organizing delinquent youths into small production teamswhose earnings depend on the performance of each member.

Socialization programs may also attempt to instruct youths at an early age by implementing school programs which integrate work skills and job preparation with academic performance.

2. Target Groups. a) Youths who have come in conflict with the law

and who associate with delinquents, b) Youths in general.

3. Levels of Intervention. a) Levels Three and Four, b) Level Zero.

4.6 Behavioural Theories.

1. Intervention Strategies and Methods. Behavioural theories recommend that intervention strategies focus on the actual behaviour of youths through behaviour modification techniques. These techniques include breaking down tasks into their consistent steps, instituting a structured positive reinforcement schedule such as a token economy or praise that rewards correct performance of each step, and setting concrete goals.

2. Target Groups. Youth-work programs which practice behaviour modification may target one of two groups. The first is composed of youths who have already come in conflict with the law. The assumption of behavioural theorists is that most people have experienced sufficient positive reinforcement in their everyday life to ensure conventional behaviour. These individuals do not require special intervention. Delinquent behaviour indicates that everyday reinforcements have not been sufficient or have been negative and that a more structured schedule is required.

The second target group consists of youths who have not learned the work habits which are required for keeping a job. These include attendance, regularity and punctuality. These youths may have a history of instability in employment or have had attendance problems in school. Even if they have not come into contact with the Justice System, their inability to hold a job because of poor work habits places them at high risk of delinquency.

3. Level of Intervention. Intervention at Level Two is appropriate for youths who cannot find or hold a job while a more general behaviour modification program may be necessary at Levels Three and Four.

4.7 Cognitive Theories

1. Intervention Strategies and Methods. Those who argue that cognitive impairment is a major cause of delinquency advocate programs which attempt to remediate the youth's academic, work and social skills. Remediation programs must be highly structured, individualized programs in which goals are clearly set and tasks are broken down into their consituent steps. Small, day-to-day improvements should be sought. The instructors should be role-models through which the youths can learn social skills.

2. Target Groups. Learning disabled youths and others who suffer from cognitive impairment.

3. Level of Intervention. Ideally this should be a Level Two intervention but can and does occur at Levels Three and Four.

4.8 Situational Theories.

1. Intervention Strategies and Methods. Programs which focus on the situational nature of delinquency usually attempt to keep their clients occupied in a structured, supervised setting and to provide them with the opportunity to earn some money. Delinquent behaviour is generally the result of situational inducements. Youth-work programs attempt to provide structure and supervision during "free times" such as after school, during summer holidays and after the youth has left school.

2. Target Groups. Situational theorists assume that most youths engage in some delinquent acts. The majority of these youths mature out of

delinquency.

3. Level of Intervention. Level Zero.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS: ISSUES IN THE DESIGN OF YOUTH-WORK PROGRAMS

This report has been concerned with identifying significant elements in youth-work programs. In Chapter II a theoretical model of the relationship between unemployment and delinquency was presented. This model was used to classify programs in terms of the aspects of the youth or the youth's situation which the programs attempted to modify. The programs were explored to discover intervention strategies, methods, target group selection and levels of intervention that were compatible with the different theories. The results of this investigation are presented in Chart II.

The purpose of this Chapter is twofold. First, a hypothetical example of a youth work program is presented incorporating much of the information generated through the review of the theories and programs on the relationship between unemployment and youths. This model is one of many which could be developed for youths identified as at risk of coming into conflict with the law. Models which do not focus on individual intervention strategies per se, such as community development programs planned within the community disorganization theoretical framework or income equalization programs which adhere implicitly to the economic theory of crimes were not designed as examples not because of lack of evidence as to their effectiveness or validity but due to practical concerns over lack of time.

The second section of this chapter identifies major issues which have arisen during this investigation. A lack of rigorous research on the topic of youth unemployment and delinquency prevention necessitates this section being more of a commentary than representing definitive conclusions.

Appendix II contains a discussion of two additional program implementation issues; program components and resourcing. These issues have not been included in the body because they do not relate directly to the theoretical model.

5.1 A Hypothetical Youth-Work Program

It is argued here that the core of an "ideal" model would be its capacity for differential treatment. It would consist of three basic stages; an assessment and diagnosis stage, a pre-employment stage and an opportunity enhancement stage. The pre-employment stage would offer four different programs designed to channel graduates into the opportunity enhancement program. There are three assumptions underlying this type of design. First, not all youths require the same treatment and therefore a diagnosis and assessment stage is needed to decide on the most appropriate treatment. Second, many youths under 20 years of age are not ready to make a commitment to a particular career and so opportunity enhancement programs should be delayed until they are ready. Third, opportunity enhancement programs should assist motivated youths. The extensive resources they require to find good jobs with a future and to provide extensive follow-up should not be diluted in attempts to deal with severe behavioural, motivational or attitudinal problems. These problems should be handled in the pre-employment phase.

The Model

1. Assessment and Diagnosis

When the youth first enters the program he or she should be assigned to a counsellor. The responsibilities of the counsellor are to a) decide on an appropriate pre-employment program or to enroll the youth directly in

the opportunity enhancement program and b) to monitor the youths' progress throughout the program.

2. Pre-Employment Programs

a) Learning Disabilities. Youths diagnosed as having learning disabilities should be placed in a special program where they can receive structured, individualized treatment. Staff should be specially trained in the remediation of learning disabilities.

b) Self-Esteem Enhancement. Isolated youths, or youths who display a very marked lack of self-esteem should be placed in the self-esteem enhancement program. On entry, the counsellor should search the youth's history to find successes. These should be pointed out to the youth. The program should be structured in such a way that the client is given simple tasks at first and then gradually the difficulty is increased. Positive reinforcement in the form of praise should be offered throughout. As the tasks increase in difficulty, they should also increase in relevance to the youth's environment outside the program. For example, the Seattle Opportunities for Youth program (see Appendix I) had teachers ask the youths to judge how effective teaching machines were in helping younger children. This was intended to boost self-esteem by demonstrating the teachers' confidence in the clients' judgement. A tactic such as this can be very useful in the first part of a self-esteem program. However, as the program progresses the tasks should increase in relevance. The youths may be employed in maintenance and renovation work for local community organizations. Toward the end of the program they might work with the sick, the old and the disabled. Role-playing using video tapes may be used to increase the clients' confidence in social situations.

c) Socialization Program. Youths who lack much of the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to fit into conventional society and who are integrated into the delinquent subculture should be considered for the socialization program. This program could be organized around a particular work project, for example, a small production business or a major renovation job.

The first part of the program should focus on developing acceptable work habits such as attendance, punctuality, safety, care of tools and reasonable behaviour. The staff may implement a behaviour modification program using a token economy to develop these basic habits. Behaviour modification should not be used throughout the program, however, for two reasons. First, behaviour modification works best when the behaviours to be reinforced are very specific. This involves breaking down complex tasks into their constitutent steps and rewarding each one separately. Given the number and complexity of the tasks that socialization programs attempt to teach, the reinformcement system necessary would be too cumbersome to operate in a fair, consistent manner. Second, the behaviour learned through modification techniques does not generalize well to other settings. It may thus be used more effectively in the job search phase of the opportunity enhancement program when it can be applied to the actual behaviour to be modified.

In the next part of the socialization program the participants should be divided into small production teams with responsibility for setting production goals and ordering material. The teams should be rewarded in accordance with their level of production. Educational remediation should be organized around work tasks. For example, arithmetic and reading could

be taught around the tasks of eliciting orders and ordering material.

One day should be set aside for the teaching of job retention skills involving problems with fellow workers and supervisors. A lecture format should be avoided in favour of guided group discussion in which the participants use their experiences in the program to explore issues.

d) Situational Program. Some youths may not need intensive intervention. They may simply require some spending money and an opportunity to participate in interesting activities which are structured and supervised. Community work, leisure skills and recreation could make up the content of this program.

It should be noted that in deciding which programs clients should be placed in, the counsellor must use considerable judgement and discretion. There are no clear cut rules to use in making the decision. A youth, for example, may have poor attitudes towards conventional society, have learning disabilities, associate with delinquents and have low self-esteem. It is recommended here that learning disabilities remediation take precedence over other problems. However, the counsellor must decide whether a socialization program will be sufficient to raise a particular youth's self-esteem or if a special self-esteem enhancement program is necessary. In some cases a youth may progress from a self-esteem program to a socialization program but this is not recommended as the redundancy of certain elements, such as basic skill learning and social skill learning, may induce boredom and impatience.

3. Opportunity Enhancement Program

When participants graduate from the Pre-Employment Stage they become eligible for the Opportunity Enhancement Stage. This stage is composed of three parts.

In the first part, clients are provided with career counselling in order to determine their interests and to decide on what further preparation is necessary for job entry. This further training or education may be provided by the program or the client may be referred to other agencies.

The second part should consist of a Job Finding Club in which the clients are divided into groups of ten and their job search efforts carefully supervised. It is important that the clients find there own jobs as, at this stage, they must be weaned from dependency on the program.

The third part of the program involves intensive follow-up. The counsellor and client analyze the job to determine what is needed for advancement. The counsellor should then encourage the client to take night courses which would increase his or her chances of advancing. Follow-up counselling should also be provided to help the client cope with the problems that arise on the job. Ideally, the counsellor should maintain contact with the employer to ensure that he or she is sensitive to the special needs of the client.

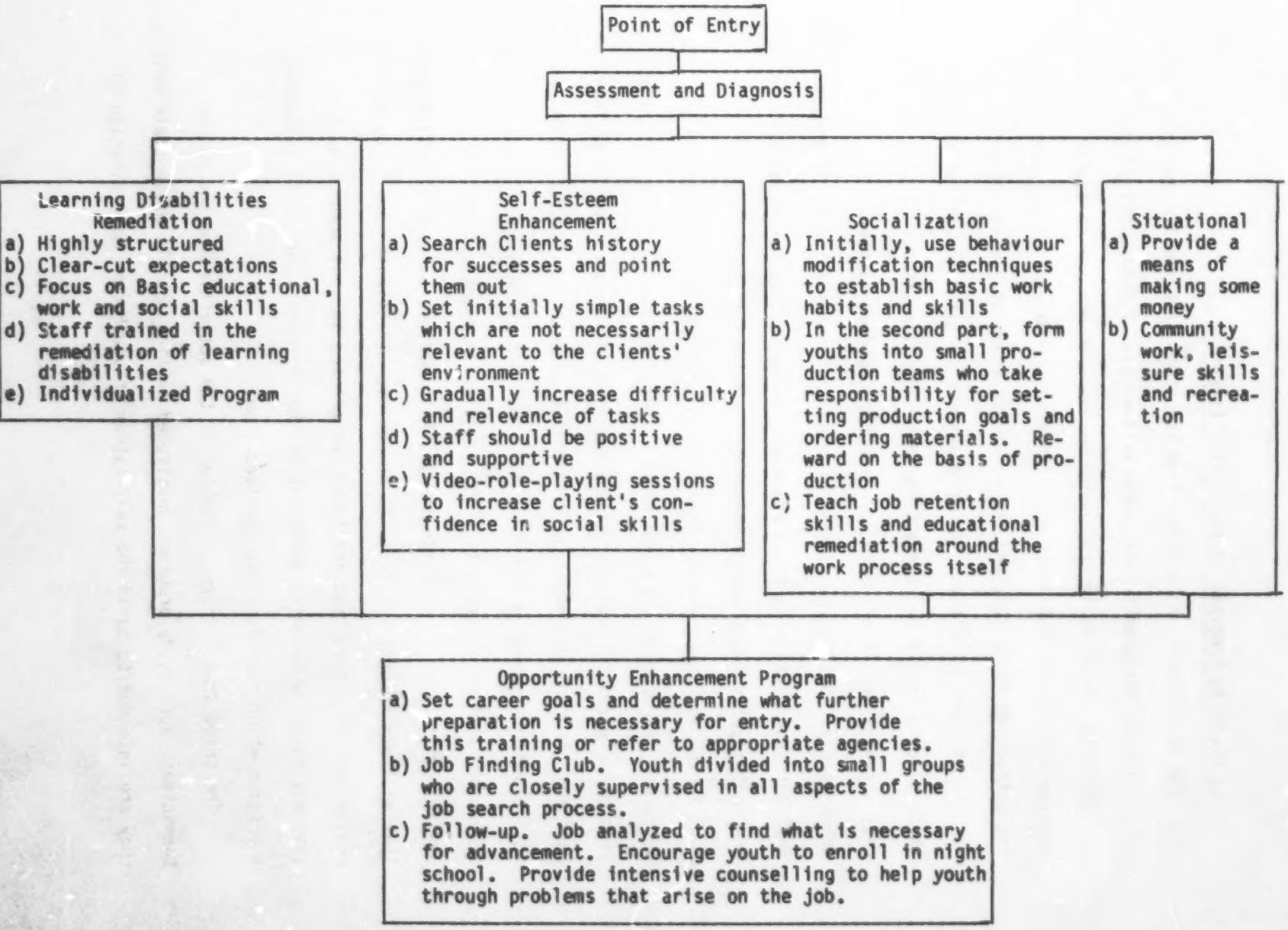
This program, represented in Chart II, is based on theory, not empirical evidence of its effectiveness.

5.2 Issues

The purpose of this section is to discuss the major issues which arose in the course of the analysis. The first four issues deal with concerns in implementing specific types of youth-work intervention programs. They are intended for program planners who have already decided to go ahead with a particular type of program and are considering how to design it. The last two issues reflect more general concerns about youth-work programs as an intervention designed to prevent or reduce delinquency. They address the effectiveness of youth-work programs and the value that underline them.

CHART II

HYPOTHETICAL YOUTH-WORK PROGRAM MODEL



a) Planning Programs to Raise Self Esteem

The first issue which arose from the study concerns the implementation of strategies designed to raise the self-esteem of delinquent youths. Four problem areas which designers should be aware of are the relevance of the program activities, the level of difficulty of the activities, the value of the activities to youths, and the reference group of the clients.

First, the activities that programs use to build the self-esteem of their clients should be relevant to their everyday lives. In this regard, city survival skills are more relevant than outdoor survival skills for urban youths. Self-esteem does not arise from the ability to do any task well but from performing tasks which are recognized as valuable by those in the individual's immediate environment.

The second area concerns the difficulty of the activities through which programs attempt to build their clients' self-esteem. On entering a program, a youth may indicate having received little or no positive feedback and, as a result, may have very little sense of self-worth. The counsellor should respond by searching for small achievments on the part of the client and bestowing recognition for these achievements. However, this praise must be used to motivate the youth to achieve a level of performance that will win recognition from the community. If clients come to expect praise for activities that are taken for granted in conventional society they may react by becoming dependent on sheltered settings or by resenting a program which they feel has deceived them.

The third area concerns the value of the activities to the youths themselves. Work-study programs instituted in high schools often claim that they are intended to build the self-esteem of youths who have experienced

failure in academic work. However, by removing a youth from the regular academic program and placing him or her in a vocational program, school personnel may be responsible for lowering the student's position in the eyes of fellow students. The planners of the Kansas Work-Study program found that students were embarrassed by their participation in the program. Rather than raising their self-esteem by assigning them tasks they could perform, the school lowered their self-esteem by implying that they were incapable of succeeding in a regular program.

Finally, program planners must be sensitive to which group of people the clients' self-esteem is being raised in relation to. The work camp program implemented by the Fuld Neighbourhood House raised the position of the participants among other street youths. As a result, they became "too big for their britches" and their delinquency increased in an attempt to continue impressing their peers. If the intention of the program is to reduce delinquency, program planners must teach their clients to seek and value praise from members of conventional society.

b) Planning Opportunity Enhancement Programs

The second issue that emerged concerns the inclusion of delinquents in opportunity enhancement programs. The rationale for characterizing these programs as delinquency prevention measures derives from the theory that lack of opportunity may result in a rejection of conventional norms. Opportunity enhancement is designed to prevent disadvantaged youths from turning to delinquency out of frustration with a system tht does not work for them. Nevertheless, many of the programs designed to enhance opportunities primarily recruited non-motivated delinquent youths. These youths generally require more intensive treatment and the inundation of problem

youths into pure opportunity enhancement programs may intimidate disadvantaged youth who are still motivated to succeed through legitimate means. The effect on program morale that multi-problem youths may produce can reduce the benefits of the program for nondelinquent youths. It is therefore recommended that some opportunity enhancement programs be reserved for motivated, nondelinquent youths who simply want a chance to improve their lives.

c) Planning for Isolated Youth

A third issue was not explicitly addressed in the body of the report but is related to the focus on peer groups in socialization programs. This concerns the treatment of isolated youths who have turned to delinquency. A major premise of socialization and social learning theories is that youths must be socialized into crime by criminal or delinquent groups. As a result, many socialization programs have attempted to intervene directly in the peer group process.

Not all delinquent youths are integrated into delinquent subcultures. Some are isolated youths who may require different treatment from group-oriented delinquents. It may be as difficult for them to fit in with delinquent peer groups congregated in youth-work programs as it is for them to fit into conventional society. On the other hand, they may be more motivated to cooperate with program staff who can promise them integration into some social group than are group delinquents who are already integrated into a social group. While the data presented in this report does not provide guidance for the treatment of isolated youths it is recommended that program implementers should be sensitive to their special problems.

d) Resource Allocation

The fourth issue concerns resource allocation within the different types of programs. Different programs require that resources be concentrated in different areas. Opportunity enhancement programs, for example, should concentrate resources on placing participants in jobs which offer advancement and on providing follow-up counselling, training and educational services. Typically, these programs have focused on training and counselling in a setting removed from the setting in which the client will be working. In its early stages, for example, the Job Corps would remove enrollees from their neighbourhoods, provide them with training and counselling, and then release them, offering little assistance in placement and follow-up. As a result, early Job Corps graduates were unable to significantly improve their economic situation. Employment enhancement programs must follow through on their commitment to improving the lives of enrollees by extending help after initial job placement.

The emphasis on follow-up is not as crucial to therapeutic programs such as self-esteem enhancement. The primary emphasis here should be on identifying tasks which are valued by the community and bringing the client to the point where he or she feels comfortable performing them. Socialization programs tend to focus on the pre-employment phase also. They assume that delinquent youths lack the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes necessary to fit into conventional society. Attention and resources are concentrated on developing good attitudes towards work and on fostering the social skills necessary to getting along with fellow workers and bosses. The California Job Survival Skills program, for example, devoted the largest proportion of its curriculum to job retention skills. Partici-

pants were specifically instructed in how to solve problems that will arise in the workplace with fellow workers and supervisors (Wiederanders, Luckey and Cross-Drew, 1978).

Behaviour modification programs may offer assistance in all phases of the employment process. It is important, however, to ensure that the behaviour modified is specific and relevant to real employment situations. The Job Finding Club, for example, uses the actual process of looking for a job to teach career planning, regularity, punctuality, and social skills. In doing so, it avoids a problem that many behaviour modification programs face; the failure of graduates to generalize the behaviour learned in the program to other settings.

Cognitive impairment programs must concentrate resources on remediating academic, work and social skills using special techniques developed for the learning disabled. These programs should not be concerned with providing a broad range of services. They should instead work intensively on basic skills.

Situational programs are not required to allocate resources to intensive psychological, vocational, educational or social services. They do need to hold the interest of their participants in structured, legitimate activities.

e) The Effectiveness of Youth-Work Programs in Reducing Delinquency

A major problem in researching youth-work programs which attempt to reduce delinquency is the lack of evaluation studies which use recidivism rates as a measure of effectiveness. In the United States millions of dollars were spent proliferating these types of programs while funds were scarce for studies which attempted to find out if the programs worked. In

many cases, a philosophy of "doing something is better than doing nothing" was adopted by program managers and funding agencies alike in the face of evaluation studies which either did not address the issue of recidivism or found disappointing results.

Evaluation research is not a frill to be added on to a program only if there is sufficient time and money. It is a means by which a society rationally decides how to allocate funds for the alleviation of serious problems. Much of the research into delinquency points to deep causes such as impoverished environments, school curriculums which ensure failure for a certain proportion of the youths they serve and families who live from day to day in a state of crisis.

While Community Development Corporations and macro-social and economic policies attempt to reach these deep causes, most other program types provide remedial attention after the problem has developed and only for those youths who find their way to a particular program. If these programs do not prove themselves effective in reducing delinquency rates among their participants then the question that must be addressed is whether their funding drains resources that might better be used to effect more basic social reforms. That question cannot be answered given the lack of evaluation research presently available.

f) <u>The Planning Environment</u>

The final issue concerns the future of work-study programs in light of recent economic developments. When youth-work programs proliferated in the 1960's the availability of jobs was not a problem. The task was to prepare youths to fill the many open positions.

An abundance of work can no longer be taken for granted by program

designers when even well-educated, highly motivated youths cannot find jobs. This situation requires that program designers re-evaluate their objectives and strategies. Employment programs have assumed that through work, delinquents can develop a sense of self-worth and a stake in conventional society. Work is the primary culturally defined means through which these goals can be realized.

In times of recession or economic stagnation, these means may not be available to all youths, despite the efforts of youth workers. Under these circumstances, an emphasis on work as the only or primary way youths can achieve a sense of self-worth and social integration may do more harm than good. A youth's sense of self-worth should not rest solely on paid work since work opportunities may be curtailed through circumstances beyond his or her control. Youth-workers must emphasize that there are activities besides paid work which are worthwhile. Work programs like The Door, for example, have included an emphasis on educational achievement, volunteer work and leisure skills not simply as means toward future employment but as activities that have value in their own right.

APPENDIX I

EIGHT AMERICAN YOUTH-WORK PROGRAMS

The Job Corps

The Job Corps was created in 1964 as part of the Economic Opportunity Act. It was administered by the Office of Economic Opportunity but was transferred to the Department of Labor in 1973. It was based on the philosophy that aggressive intervention is necessary to break the cycle of poverty whereby the children of poor parents are not able to raise themselves out of poverty and so produce more children into poverty.

The goal of the Job Corps was to take disadvantaged youth between the ages of 16 and 21 out of their ghetto and slum neighbourhoods and to relocate them in large residential centres where they would be provided with remedial education and job training in a healthy environment. All Job Corps centres provided residential facilities, health care, and both group and individual counselling. In its peak year, 1967, the Job Corps operated 123 centres with a total enrollment of 42,000 youths but by 1975 the number was down to 60.

There were three different types of centres operated by the Job Corps; men's urban centres, women's centres and civilian conservation centres. The men's urban centres were usually located on army bases outside urban areas. They offered training in food service, auto and machine repair, construction trades, electrical appliance repair, service occupations and industrial production (Levitan and Johnston, 1975). Women's centres were smaller than those for men and were usually located in hotels or Y.W.C.A.'s. Women were trained in secretarial and service jobs such as child care, food service and health service. The civilian conservation

centres were usually located in National Parks and the training received there was more concretely related to actual conservation work projects. The conservation centres were originally designed to service the most severely educationally disadvantaged enrollees by providing them with basic education skills. They also tried to teach the enrollees basic work habits and living skills (Weeks, 1967, p. 85). In 1969, this policy was changed because it was felt that the conservation centres did not provide broad enough education and skill development (Levitan and Johnston, 1975).

While the conservation centres were run by government agencies, the urban centres were contacted out to private contractors. Large corporations ran 21 of the 28 urban centres in existence in 1967 (Levitan and Mangum, 1969).

The enrollees spent part of their time in remedial education classes and the other part in vocational training. The Corps developed a special "unit system of instruction" for its remedial education classes. Curriculum was broken down into a number of individual lessons so that students could enter the program at any point in time and proceed at their own pace. The amount of time each student spent in remedial education and vocational training was determined by individual need. The Job Corps also made an attempt at job placement although that was not a strong part of the program.

In its early stages, the Job Corps experienced a very high drop out rate and considerable behavioural problems which severely damaged its reputation. Some of these problems continued to plague the program but by the 1970's many of them had been solved. In 1977, the Mathematic Policy research conducted an evaluation of the Job Corps which compared participants

with a sample of young school drop-outs and older applications to state Employment Service offices. They concluded that the Job Corps participants had lower rates of unemployment and larger earnings than the controls. In addition, they found that the Job Corps was effective in reducing arrests among its participants (Maller et al, 1978, cited in Thompson et al, 1981).

The Provo Experiment

The Provo experiment took place in Provo, Utah during the early sixties. It attempted to make use of sociological theory in designing a rehabilitative program for delinquent boys. The program designers made two basic assumptions. First, they assumed that delinquency was not caused by individual pathology but was instead the result of adherence to the norms of a delinquent subgroup. Previous attempts to rehabilitate delinquent youths had failed because the programs had allowed for the development of two separate subsystems; the formal authority system and an informal delinquent subculture to whom the delinquents owed their loyalty. For a program to succeed it must use the peer group as the primary means by which rehabilitation is brought about.

The second assumption was that delinquent boys were ambivalent towards the norms of the delinquent subculture. Most of them had internalized conventional norms as well as delinquent ones. A successful program must use that ambivalence to force the clients to make a realistic choice between delinquency and conformity. In order to allow this choice to be made, a program must reward honesty over outward conformity because it is only in an open environment that the boys can fully explore their feelings towards the two sets of norms.

The boys assigned to the program were repeat offenders between the ages of 14 and 18. Only twenty participated in the program at any one time. When one was released another boy would be admitted in order to ensure continuity of the peer group culture created at the treatment centre.

The enrollees lived at home, spending only part of the day at the centre. The program itself was composed of two parts. The most part was the group meetings which took place every day. While each group had a counsellor who was a member of the staff, he would provide very little guidance. The peer group itself was expected to carry on the meetings and was given a considerable amount of power in running the program. A boy could only be released from the program if the group consented. Also, when a boy was disciplined by the staff, the staff would not tell him what he was being punished for. The boys had to work it out in the group meetings and the group was often given responsibility for deciding when the punishment was sufficient. The peer group was encouraged to enforce, and thereby internalize, nondelinquent norms.

The second part of the program was a work program. It was felt that if the boys were to make a realistic choice between delinquency and conformity they would have to have access to and experience with a nondelinquent lifestyle. Employment was considered to be the most important way in which youths changed their allegiance from delinquent to nondelinquent groups. Therefore, the Provo experiment arranged for the city and county to hire enrollees to work in parks and recreational area.

After the intensive phase of the program the boys were released from the centre but encouraged to return periodically to the group meetings.

The program made an effort to find permanent employment for the releasees.

The program contained an experimental components. Experimental and control groups were selected from two populations; one population which a judge had decided should be put on probation and one which was to be sentenced to an institution. After the judge had made his decision he would open an envelope which contained a slip of paper stating whether the boy was to be part of the experimental or control group. The slips of paper were randomly selected. If the paper read "experimental" the boy would be sent to the treatment centre but if it read "control" the sentence would be carried out.

The program instituted a long-term follow-up study of the members of all four groups four years after release from the program. The study found that while the boys sentenced to incarceration but placed in the program instead showed considerably less recidivism than those who were actually incarcerated, there was very little difference in the recidivism rate among the other three groups. The incarceration experimental tended to have higher recidivism rates than the group who were simply put on probation (Empy and Erickson, 1972).

Project New Pride

New Pride was developed in Denver, Colorado to provide rehabilitation services for repeat offenders between 14 and 17 years of age. The program took four months to complete. It limited enrollment to twenty clients in each four month period. The clients were referred by the Juvenile Court probation authorities.

New Pride was based on the assumption that delinquency is a response to the low self-esteem experienced by many youngsters. It attempted

to raise self-esteem through a combination of four intervention strategies; remedial education, employment services, counselling and cultural education. The program ran an Alternative School offering one-to-one tutoring as well as a Learning Disabilities Centre. Each client was assigned to a counsellor who became involved in the youth's community, school and family life. The Cultural Education program exposed the client to the cultural and recreational services made available by the city and surrounding areas.

The employment component of New Pride attempted to place clients in a part time job so that they could continue to attend school. The client was first instructed in interviewing skills and basic job hunting skills such as how to dress and how to fill out an application form. In the next stage, career counselling was provided on a one-to-one basis between the client and Job Placement Specialist. The client was then placed in a part-time job by the Job Placement Specialist. The salaries were paid by New Pride. The Specialist made weekly contact with the employer and the client in order to provide follow-up counselling.

The program was evaluated to determine its impact on recidivism. The achievements of the program were modest but positive; participants had a 27 percent arrest rate compared with a 32 percent arrest rate for the control group. Those who had found employment had only one-third the arrest rate of unemployed participants, pointing out the importance of the employment component (Blew, McGillis and Bryant, 1977).

The Riker's Island Project

The Riker's Island Project was a demonstration program conducted in New York City between 1963 and 1967. Two sample were drawn from among the

inmates of the Riker's Island jail who were between 16 and 21 years old.

One sample of 137 inmates were designated as the experimental group while the other group of 127 were the control group. The experimental group were given training in data programming and remedial reading. They were also provided with counselling, job placement assistance and some money upon release. The control group received no treatment.

The results of the study showed that the program had been successful in reducing recidivism. While 66 percent of the controls returned to prison only 48 percent of the experimental were returned (Taggart, 1972).

There were, however, some problems with the study. First, it was found that a much larger proportion of the control group were addicted to drugs, a condition that greatly increased the chance of recidivism. Second, only 29 percent of the experimental found jobs relating to their training. Taggart attributes this to the reluctance of employers to allow offenders to work near women, who constitute the majority of keypunch operators. Another reason may be related to a problem that is common to vocational training programs in correctional institutions; the reluctance of many offenders to work at tasks they performed in the institution. Colvin observed that many of the young men he had counselled in a juvenile institution quit jobs which they had obtained as a result of their institutional training. He reports:

> This counsellor asked them why, and their answer invariably was that the training they received in camp reminded them of their institutional days (Colvin, 1974, p. 163).

The Manhattan Court Employment Project

The Manhatten Court project was developed in 1967 as a demonstration project by the Vera Institute. It was based on the assumption that many

young New Yorkers drift into crime and that intervention can prevent them from developing into professional or career criminals. The project was a diversion program which accepted individuals who had been arrested but not yet tried. Although it served a client population between the ages of 16 and 45 the majority of its clients were young offenders.

When the client entered the program he or she was assigned a counsellor who supervised the client throughout the program. The counsellor, who was usually an ex-convict, also provided follow-up services after the client had left the program. The client was placed into a group counselling situation where he or she was encouraged to develop self-confidence, work out personal problems and orient to the work world.

The client was then assigned a Career Developer who provided career counselling and job placement. After being placed in a job the client was provided with follow-up counselling (Vera Institute of Justice, 1972).

The project was evaluated in 1977 by Baker and Sadd (Baker and Sadd, 1979, cited in Thompson et al, 1981, pp. 173-174). The study found that there were no differences in either employment experiences or recidivism rates between the program participants and a control group.

The Opportunities for Youth Project

The Opportunities for Youth Project was initiated in Seattle in 1964. The program assumed that delinquent behaviour was often the result of the offender possessing a delinquent self-concept. It further assumed that the delinquent self-concept was a response to a perception on the part of the the delinquent of negative reactions to him or her by others and that it could be modified by modifying those reactions. The project therefore attempted to alter the participants' perceptions of other peoples'

attitudes, responses and expectations.

The program designers selected 240 boys who were thirteen or fourteen years old and who lived in one of four housing projects. It was felt that boys from a housing project would be inclined to have the low self-esteem which would lead them to perceive negative responses from others.

In the first two communities, A and B, the boys were asked to test the effectiveness of teaching machines as a tool for teaching young children. This was designed to raise their self-esteem as the teacher would express confidence in the ability of the boys to judge the machine. In communities C and D no teaching machines were used. In communities A and C the project planners attempted to create positive attitudes toward youths on the part of the residents. In B and D they made no attempt to alter the negative attitudes held toward youths by the residents.

In addition to the above interventions, work programs were developed in each community. The boys in each community were divided into five groups; one had an informal supervisor who expressed trust, the second was supervised by an authoritarian person with little trust of the boys, the third group was unsupervised, the fourth group was on a waiting list but in Communities A and B took part in the teaching machine project, and the last group was the control group. They received no treatment.

Three sets of criteria were developed to evaluate the program. The first was self-esteem, the second was reduction in alienation and the third was reduction in the delinquency rate. The researchers found that there were no significant differences among the groups with the control group showing slightly more positive results (Hacker, 1966; 1978).

The Vocationally Oriented Psychotherapeutic Program

The vocationally oriented psychotherapeutic program was developed in Boston to help high school drop-outs with a history of antisocial behaviour attain a more positive functioning of the ego through a program which combined employment assistance with intensive, individual counselling. Twenty boys between the ages of 15 and 17 who had recently dropped out of school were selected. Ten were assigned to the treatment groups and ten to the control group. Every boy had been identified by school or court personnel as tending toward delinquency.

When the subjects were contacted they were offered help in getting a job. The possibility of counselling was mentioned but not stressed as it was felt that delinquent boys tended to shy away from psychotherapy. The boys were first counselled on job readiness and vocational options as few of the boys had proper work attitudes and many possessed unrealistic expectations about career possibilities. They were then placed in a job and given follow-up counselling on job-keeping skills.

The counselling itself was flexible, with no set hours or location. The therapist was mobile and would often accompany the boys when they were dealing with a specific problem such as court appearances, job interviews, dental appointments and shopping. The treatment was individualistic. Unlike many other programs described in the report it did not focus on group activity. During the last phase of the program the subjects were encouraged to take a remedial education program (Massimo and Shore, 1963).

Five years later the researchers conducted a follow-up study of the program's participants and the control group. Of the ten boys treated only two were unemployed. Those two also had been arrested. Only one other

member of the treatment group had been arrested. Of the control group, eight had been arrested and three were in adult correctional institutions at the time of the follow-up study. The researchers concluded that the program had been successful (Shore and Massimo, 1967).

The Kansas City Work-Study Program

In 1961 and 1962 four hundred boys between the ages of thirteen and fourteen were selected from the total population of seventh grad boys in inner city schools in Kansas City, Missouri. The boys selected were though to be at high risk of dropping out of school and becoming delinquents. This judgement was based on teacher reports and a sociometric instrument. The subjects were divided into two even groups, a control and an experimental group. An additional control group was provided by boys who were selected for the program but whose parents refused to permit them to participate.

The program was based on the assumption that conventional behaviour results from the development of a work-role identity and that this development is often impaired in disadvantaged areas. The authors describe three stages in the development of a work-role identity. The first occurs at an early age when the child identifies with a worker and integrates the idea of working into his or her ego ideal. During the second stage the child develops good work habits, including an ability to defer gratification. The third stage involves career planning, preparation and work experience.

The program was designed to help youths from disadvantaged areas acquire a work-role identity and, in doing so, to prevent them from dropping out of school and becoming delinquent. It was divided into three stages. Beginning in the eighth grade the experimental subjects

participated in group work projects in the school and community for half the day. This part of the program was designed to allow the boys to develop good work habits and to work with others under supervision. During the second half of the day they attended a special study class.

During Stage Two the program found part time employment with private employers for the subjects. They continued to spend half the day in study class.

In Stage Three, the subjects were placed in full time jobs. The program's employment coordinator provided follow-up assistance.

The researchers felt that the program helped only about one-fourth of the boys. Both the control groups had a higher rate of high school graduation than did the experimental group. There was also little difference in the adjustment patterns between the experimentals and controls. Twenty percent of the boys in the experimental groups were arrested during the academic year 1963-1964 while seven percent of all inner city youths were arrested (Ablstrom and Havighurst, 1971).

APPENDIX II

ADDITIONAL PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION ISSUES

The task of designing a program involves attention to a vast number of practical details with which theories can provide little guidance. Theories, for example, cannot determine the length of time a youth must be enrolled in a program in order to be rehabilitated or how intensive the program must be. Decisions regarding the degree of training program staff should have or the degree of formality they assume must still be based on experiment and experience.

Two important areas that the theoretical model has, at the most, marginal relevance to are the choice of which components of the employment process youth-work programs should include and the issue of resourcing. These areas will be briefly discussed here.

Program Components

Herman and Sadofsky identified six components of the work program they studied; pre-vocational training, occupational skill training, on-the-job training and apprenticing, job development, job placement and follow-up counselling. Choices as to which of these components are to be included in a particular work program are usually the result of practical considerations such as the resources of the program and the needs of the client. Most of the program described in this report attempt to provide all six components in response to the multiple needs of employment-handicapped youth.

Resourcing

Resourcing refers to the type of organization which funds and administers youth-work programs. In Canada, programs usually obtain funding from various levels of government but are often administered by private

non-profit organizations such as local community groups or the Y.M.C.A.

In the United States the government experimented with contracting out youth-work programs such as the Job Corps to a variety of groups; universities, private non-profit organizations, profit-oriented businesses and unions. The least successful organization type was the university (Levitan and Mangum, 1969, p. 172).

Private Business

The planners of the Job Corps initially felt that private corporations would be well equipped to run Job Corps centers because of their expertise in administration. Levitan and Mangum indicate that these expectations were not fulfilled:

> Corporations traditionally engaged in personnel training and the development of complex defense systems were expected to have little trouble developing new approaches and techniques for educating and training the disadvantaged. It does not appear that the corporations have lived up to these expectations...In February 1968, the Job Corps were forced to close 16 centers because of budget limitations. The fact that four of these were urban centers run by private corporations may be indicative of longer-run weaknesses in corporate-run centers as compared to government operated conservation centers (Levitan and Mangum, 1969, p. 1973).

Other American programs have used private businesses to provide one component of their program, on-the-job training. The program managers interviewed by Herman and Sadofsky were generally favourable towards the private employers used by their programs but did point out some problems. Many employers were reluctant to get involved in the "paper work and red tape" that accompanies participation in government programs. They also did not want to accept training standards which they had not set. In addition, some employers tended to exploit the youths by not paying them on schedule

or paying a lower wage than that agreed on (Herman and Sadofsky, 1966, p. 161).

Private, Nonprofit Organizations

The Neighbourhood Youth Corps programs were often contracted out to private, non-profit organizations. The sponsors of the program were only required to contribute 10 percent of costs which, Levitan and Mangum argue, had some drawback. The purpose of the Corps was to provide meaningful community work but the fact that the sponsoring organization did not have to pay much for the youths often resulted in the creation of make-work projects whose value to the community were marginal (Levitan and Mangum, 1969, pp. 214-5).

Anne Pappert, in her criticism of the Canadian government's LEAP program, has questioned the wisdom of contracting out programs to community groups without retaining significant input (Pappert, 1982). While community groups have the advantage of understanding their clients' needs, they often lack an understanding of business practices. This impairs their ability to help youth make the transition from dependency to nonsubsized work.

Unions

Other programs have attempted to elicit the cooperation of unions in youth-work programs. Unions, however, have sometimes expressed reluctance to become involved and have even opposed programs. Some of the programs studied by Herman and Sadofsky attempted to develop on-the-job training programs into apprenticeable trades. These attempts were usually unsuccessful because of union opposition to the introduction of low-level on-the-job training positions into skilled trades (Herman and Sadofsky,

1966, p. 146).

One of the most successful programs initiated by the Job Corps was administered by unions. This was the pre-apprenticeship program in which unions provided a number of training personnel to the conservation centers. This program resulted in a nearly 80 percent placement of graduates although this success rate was somewhat offset by the high cost of the program (Levitan and Johnston, 1975, pp. 42-3).

This brief discussion was intended to indicate that each organizational type has its own particular advantages and limitations. Much more information would be required to provide the basis for a decision regarding the appropriateness of the organizational types for particular kinds of programs.

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